BURMA GAZETTEER

SYRIAM DISTRICT

VOLUME A

MAP OF HANTHAWADDY (SYRIAM) DISTRICT

Scale $\frac{1}{1,000,000}$ or 1·014 Inches to 16 Miles.

Miles 10 5 0 10 20 30 40 Miles



REG. NO. 8886 E.! 1 S. H.-370

Specially prepared for the Settlement Officer, Party No. 2, Henzada.

BURMA GAZETTEER

SYRIAM DISTRICT

VOLUME A

COMPILED BY

J. S. FURNIVALL, I.C.S.

(ASSISTANT COMMISSIONER)

ASSISTANT SETTLEMENT OFFICER

AND COMPLETED BY

W. S. MORRISON, I.C.S.

(ASSISTANT COMMISSIONER)

SETTLEMENT OFFICER

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SYRIAM DISTRICT.

CHAPTER I.

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION.

The Syriam district came into existence under the authority of General Department Notification No. 63 of the 17th February 1912, and consists of the southern portion of the old Hanthawaddy district which formed the central portion of the former Rangoon district, one of the four divisions of Pegu laid down in 1852, when first the Honourable East India Company assumed charge of the administration of the province. It is not clear whether the Toungoo district, west of the Sittang, was ever included in Rangoon; this however would appear to be the case from the notification cited by Laurie in his book on Burma, and correspondence between the Assistant Commissioner, Toungoo, and the Deputy Commissioner, Rangoon, strengthens the probability. The date of partition is unknown, but it must have taken place very early. Excluding Toungoo the area of the Rangoon district covered approximately 10,300 square miles, and it was soon found necessary to divide off outlying portions. In 1864 the Bawni circle was allotted to Toungoo, in 1872 the Kawliah circle to Shwegyin, and in 1873 the Thônze circle to Henzada. Piecemeal operations however proved ineffective, and in 1875 the district of Thôngwa was formed including three of the district townships of Rangoon; the western boundary thus formed is still to-day the western boundary of Syriam district. In the same year the town of Rangoon was constituted a separate administrative unit, and the surrounding district received the name of Hanthawaddy. In 1883 Pegu district was formed, and the eastern boundary assumed its present position. Kyauktan subdivision was at first assigned to Pegu, but was re-transferred in 1895. In the same year Rangoon town was slightly enlarged at the expense of Hanthawaddy district and finally in 1912 by the notification mentioned above the townships of Taikkyi, Constitution of the district.

Tantabin and Insein (which formed the old Insein subdivision) were taken from Hanthawaddy and made into Insein district by the addition of the Hlegu township of the Pegu district.

unda- s. The southern boundary[1] of the original Rangoon district was the gulf of Martaban; on the east were the Sittang and Leya circles of Shwegyin district; on the north the Kun stream separated it from Toungoo, while west of the Pegu mountain range it bordered Henzada, with which it marched as far as the Irrawaddy river which separated it from Bassein.

At the present day the eastern boundary of Syriam district, leaving the gulf of Martaban, envisages Thatôn across the estuary of the Sittang; just inside the mouth of the estuary it runs due west, marching with Pegu, and following the line of the Kawet stream so far as the Pegu river. The northern boundary thence follows the Pegu river till it meets the Rangoon river which it crosses and then follows the boundary of the Rangoon Town district on the west side of the river till it reaches the Panhlaing river which it follows till it finally meets the eastern boundary of the Ma-ubin district. Thence the western boundary runs towards the south along the borders of Ma-ubin and Pyapôn districts until it meets the To or China Bakir river, along which it runs in a direction east of south-east, still bordering on Pyapôn district, until it reaches the gulf of Martaban. The Cocos and Preparis islands in the gulf of Martaban are also included in the district of Syriam.

rea and osition. The area of the district at the present day is 1,701 square miles, less than a sixth of the area of the original Rangoon district. On the south it touches latitude 16°19′ and on the north latitude 17; on the east it touches longitude 96°55′ and on the west longitude 95°52′.

iatural nd ad- ninistra- ve divi- ions. The administrative divisions are given in volume B, and the history of the constituent parts is traced in chapter XIV. The headquarters of each subdivision and townshipis at the place from which the name of the administrative area is taken. The district headquarters are situated temporarily in Rangoon but may be moved later to Syriam in Kyauktan township; till then the district will not assume the name Syriam. The subdivisions roughly correspond with natural divisions. Twante and Kyauktan are deltaic islands, composed of lesser islands; in each there is a ridge or

[1] *See* Appendix I.

"kondan" branching out as it were from the range of hills ("Yoma") on the mainland.

Scenery. Although the delta is not without beauties of its own, these often make small appeal to the uncultivated eye. Stretches of rice-land, chequered with little embankments, and dried up beneath the April sun, a few cattle grazing on the scanty fodder or taking refuge from the heat under some stunted tree, or in the rains a waste of water, with buffaloes ploughing in the mud ; such a prospect is uninviting unless viewed with sympathy and understanding. The villages are closely set, and some of these with the red roof of a monastery or of some rich man's house thrown into relief against the dark foliage of palm trees are suggestive of comfortable living ; but many are mere clusters of naked huts little improving the monotonous aspect of the plains. Still there are detailed beauties which make more general appeal ; here and there are little oases, some dried up tank, carpeted with pink convolvulus and fringed with shade trees, a small lake where water lillies float, or white with feathery water jasmine ; a village where the hedge rows are gay with the golden riot of the Moulmein sunflower. The winding creeks with their border of fernlike palms, and trees and bushes trailing their branches on the water, especially at night when the banks are lit up by fireflies, may compel emotion in response even among those less susceptible to natural beauty. But even there the low tide discovers rank mud and roots and stumps of trees, and it must be admitted that the wooded hills and valleys of the ridge ("kondan") are more orthodoxly picturesque. These often range themselves in tier on tier of varying green, amphitheatres which naturally enough on moonlight nights are frequently the scene of theatrical performances. The red paths down the hill side, where the bamboo undergrowth conceals the actual lack of larger trees, in England would be exploited by the honeymooner and the tripper, nor are they without resemblance, despite the difference of foliage, to the chines and coombes and glens of English guide books.

But the fact remains that over the greater part of Syriam district no one will find beauty in the scenery who does not look for it.

Hills. What may be considered outlying spurs of the Pegu mountain range extend into both the Kyauktan and Twante subdivisions of the Syriam district ; in the former the ridge is comparatively lofty and abrupt ; in the latter it slopes more gradually and hardly attains a height of a

hundred feet. The rest of the district is an almost perfectly level plain.

rs. It would be tedious if not impossible to enumerate all the navigable creeks and rivers as the whole of the deltaic portion is traced out with a network of connecting channels. The Rangoon river is the most important. This, the eastern orifice of the Irrawaddy delta, is formed just above Rangoon by the union of the Hlaing and Panhlaing rivers, and a few miles below the town is joined by the Pegu river, a stream of almost equal volume cutting off the island of Syriam from the main land. The Pegu and Panhlaing rivers form the greater part of the northern boundary of the district. Lower down the Rangoon river is joined by the Hmawwun stream along which the launches of the Irrawaddy Flotilla Company ply to Kyauktan and Thôngwa the headquarters of the two southern townships of Kyauktan subdivision, while almost opposite the mouth of this lies the entrance to the important Thakutpin waterway along which they pass on the way to Bassein and Upper Burma. The To river separating Syriam and Pyapôn districts comes from the north-west and unites with the Thakutpin channel where it opens to the gulf of Martaban.

nate. The climate of Syriam district has been described as salubrious; other people consider it depressing. According to one authority people of a "lymphatic temperament" find it trying in the rains and those of a "robust and sanguineous disposition" are apt to be exasperated in the hot weather, but on the whole it dees not appear to be unhealthy either for natives of the country or for Europeans. Tamanaing used to have a bad reputation for fever. The fumes of the salt-factories were supposed to be the cause and it may be that the decline of the industry is the reason why the locality has no longer a bad name, but more probably it is due to the clearing of the jungle for cultivation. Statistics regarding temperature and rainfall for Rangoon which lies close to the northern boundary of the district are given in table I, volume B, and show that the climate is comparatively cool and very wet. In the hot weather the maximum temperature rarely reaches 100° F. and is generally tempered by a sea-breeze while at night it generally sinks to 75° or 80° Nearly all the rain falls in the months May to October inclusive. The average yearly rain fall for the twelve years 1898-1909 was 100 inches at Rangoon and 111 at Kyauktan. The prevailing winds during the rainy months blow from the south or south-west. Towards the end of the rains the winds become more variable till December when they usually

blow from the north or north-east and continue to do so till February when they again become variable before settling down to the south and south-west.

There is no feature of geological interest peculiar to the district; it shares the characteristics of the surrounding area, the most obvious being the total absence of all formations laid down earlier than the pliocene era. Geolo

According to the classification adopted by Theobald the strata observable are only three in number, the Newer Alluvium, the Older Alluvium and the Fossil Wood groups. The newer alluvium consists of three kinds, *viz.*, blown sand; mangrove swamp; and recent alluvium. The sand dunes along the base of Mok island from Elephant Point to Kungyangôn constitute the first kind; the uncultivable mud lining the creeks and the greater part of the sea coast composes the second; the third is a layer of clay, strictly superficial but difficult to distinguish from the older alluvium. Along the river bank there are two feet at most of this surface soil but further away from the stream the deposit of river silt is more trifling still. The superficiality of this deposit is ascribed to the low level and small inclination of the ground. In the early rains the rapid streams from the low hills contain a coarse sediment; when their flow is checked on reaching level land this settles down and forms a bar intensifying the action of the causes which led to its formation. The country is thus flooded as it were with filtered water, and the silt laden flood of the main stream is confined within a narrow area. Thus the fertilising matter is carried out into the gulf of Martaban, discolouring the sea for many miles. The deposit of this barrier also accounts for the saucer-shaped formation of the islands which constitute the deltaic portion of the district.

The older alluvium also consists within the limits of Syriam district of three kinds; the older alluvium clay; sands and gravels; and laterite. The older alluvium clay is homogeneous, of light colour and very deficient in lime. There is however a dark band running through it which differs from the rest in colour only, not in any important feature of its constitution. Towards the north it lies near the surface but has a downward inclination and near the sea is about mid-tide level. This older alluvium clay was originally an estuary deposit, similar to that now forming in the gulf; from its first formation it has been raised above the surface of the sea by the gradual elevation of the land, a process which still apparently continues. The sands and gravels and the laterite are found in the range of low hills,

known as the Ridge or "Kondan" continuing the Pegu mountain range southward as far as the Hmawwun stream, below Kyauktan. A similar formation occupies a great part of the Twante subdivision.

The third stratum, the fossil wood series, rarely crops out in Syriam district. Fragments of silicified wood, however, have been found in the neighbourhood of Rangoon of such size and nature as to necessitate the recognition of this series in the geology of the district.

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The geological history is therefore almost entirely modern. In the Eocene era of the Tertiary period the Pegu mountain range, the oldest formation of the old Hanthawaddy district, was not yet outlined as a pucker of the earth along the bottom of the great ocean then bounded on the east by the Triassic rocks of Martaban. It is apparently more recent even than the Arakan mountain range, and hence was laid down parallel to it and the lofty range east of the Sittang. The delta itself rose above the waters in protohistoric times; there is abundant reference to this emergence in the early history and legends of the country and the lowlying portions of the district are still referred to as "pinle dein", the shallow sea. Discoveries of Portuguese ships' anchors at places far distant from the present coast afford material corroboration that the process continued until quite recently. Geological proof is found in the great depth of the older alluvium, which can satisfactorily be accounted for on no other supposition.

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The soils vary from sandy loam to stiff clay. Considering the area as a whole they may be regarded as remarkably homogeneous, but there may be great differences of fertility between pieces of land lying quite close to one another; these differences depend rather on the water-supply than on geological distinctions.

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An exception to this is found in the salt impregnated areas. This is an alluvial deposit on land overspread by tidal water. It renders cultivation expensive, and lowers the fertility of the land where it is found. Salt was formerly manufactured in many parts of the district, but the operations are now confined to a small area in the Kungyangôn township.

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The clay is suitable for making bricks and in various localities these are turned out in considerable quantities. It is also used for pottery, the band of dark coloured earth being used for this in places where it lies on or near the surface.

The most important economic characteristic of the older alluvial clay is its special adaption to the rice industry. Theobald in comparing it to the Bengal alluvium was of

the opinion that although equally suitable for the cultivation of rice, it was not so favourable for the production of crops such as indigo, opium, sugar, oil-seeds, etc. The newer alluvium which resembles the Bengal alluvium would yield these products, but in Syriam it is sparsely distributed.

The laterite is used for making roads, but it is too deficient in iron to be a good road material. Formerly it was used for the construction of pagodas.

Large game other than pig and hog-deer are practically unknown. These find seclusion, not entirely undisturbed, in the small remaining areas of land which have been set apart for the supply of fuel, and cause appreciable inconvenience to cultivators in the vicinity. Occasionally a leopard affords indications of a failing game supply by preying on goats and small cattle, but a tiger has not been heard of for about ten years. It had already been regarded as extinct within the southern limits of the district when the cultivators in one locality were alarmed by the story of two cattle-herds that a tiger had been encountered in the jungle. They disbelieved the story but sallied out to prove its truth, and finding the tiger attacked it without success. The assistance of military police was finally invoked. Among smaller quadrupeds the rat is of economic importance, affording an article of luxury to eke out the diet of Madrassi coolies, who dig it out by night. Formerly it was responsible for wholesale destruction of the crops but this is now confined to a few localities especially in the west of Twante subdivision. Fauna.

There has been no systematic study of the ornithology of the district. The birds are mostly water fowl of the less edible varieties. There is good snipe shooting and near the sea golden plover are found.

Many species of small crabs do considerable damage at the time of transplanting rice and may destroy nearly half the crop on land which they infest. Their local distribution varies from time to time but of recent years they have caused great trouble to the cultivators in the north of Mok island. The fish of the district have never been studied apart from those of the rest of the delta. There are numerous crocodiles but they do not seem to attack human beings. The snakes call for no particular mention. Here and there may be found professional hunters who have gun licenses which have usually issued to them as volunteers. They supply the market with pork at a considerable profit, but of recent years are said to have spent most of the working season across the borders in Pyapôn owing to the scarcity of pig in the south of Syriam district.

Flora. The flora of the district has never been systematically studied. There are sharp distinctions between the plants found in the mangrove swamps, the rice fields, and the grassy slopes of the Ridge. Taken as a whole there seems to be a marked preponderance of species belonging to the order Leguminosae although Malvaceæ are well represented. The grasses found on newly cleared land within the influence of tidal waters are important from the point of view of agriculture. In the first year when the land is very salt and sodden there is little but "myebyit", more picturesquely known as "Fairy's eye brow" (Natthami-myetkon). Next year when there is less salt the bitter grass called "Myetka" springs up. In the third or fourth year the land should be fit for profitable cultivation, but then there are two dangerous grasses to contend with, "Myetkaya" and "Talaing-gaungbok". The name of the latter, "Talaing top", is an allusion to the former Talaing practice, still existing among the Siamese, of wearing the hair short. Neither of these can be cleared by cutting, but must either be ploughed up or dug out. If "Myetkaya" is not cleared before the seed is sown it spreads all over the surface just before the rice sprouts and holds it back. The abandonment of land in the third year in the early days of British rule may probably be attributed in great part to the trouble given by this grass. When these are finally cleared the land should be in its best condition, and the only grasses it should bear are "Padaw" of which there are two varieties, and "Mohnyin". In wet places also there is "Wetla". The first of these dies when it is submerged, but it is so good as a cattle fodder that the buffalo according to the general belief will never leave it time to bloom. The two others are killed when once they have been cut, and "Wetla" when cut is used for thatching. Thereafter no danger is likely to be experienced so long as the land is regularly cultivated except from sedge" (myetkalon) or rush ("thon-hmyaung"). These are also easy to kill as when they have been once cut the salt mud chokes up the central hollow in the stem.

Other products of the rice fields are "Sea sessamum" (hnan pinle) blooming in December and January; the thorny "supadaung", a species of Scrophulaceæ; and various grasses. The sensitive plant (tikayon) runs along the little embankments between the fields especially in the neighbourhood of the Ridge over the whole of which it is spreading with great rapidity.

A few stunted "pyinma" (lagerstrœmia flos reginæ) mark the sites of former villages, and the red agati (pauk-

banni) here and there remains as a memorial of the former April splendour of the forests in the plains. The tree found most often in the villages is the white agati, (paukbin byu) of which the leaves are edible. It is grown however chiefly for the beauty of its long glistening pods, and is mostly found on the borders of the drinking-tanks, but gives very little shade. Another very favourite tree is the "hnangyainglon" (a arabica) which in the early year is covered with a mass of sweet-smelling yellow blossom. The holly-leaved blue trumpet-flower "kayabin" (acanthus alicifolia) lines the creeks and its root pounded up in water is considered an infallible specific against the bite of the water-snake. Another shrub with a similar habitat is the "kayubin" (pluchea indica). A few henna are still found in the plains but they are no longer much used for dying. The varieties of the hibiscus are many. One of the most noticeable of the creek plants is that known as Ko Yan Gyi, a kind of arum, and the most beautiful flower in the district is the water jasmine.

On the slopes of the ridge flowering trees, and flowers generally, are more common. The "chwye danyin" with its long purple pods is one of the most imposing, and the "gyibin" although uncommon, one of the most remarkable. In April the fallen blossoms cover the earth beneath the tree as with a layer of red wax. The mexali with yellow flowers and the enbok are found in great numbers. Some of the plants have apt descriptions in Burmese; the momaka (tamarix gallica) of which there are two varieties, one a willow, and one flowering with yellow flowers in November, are so named because they do not mind the rain. The "maung ma-kaw" is styled so because salad made of its leaves is so excellent that no wise man would share it with his brother. Among plants of economic use are the wild hemp, (paiksanbin), indigo, and the thanbinban which is used in dying threads and baskets. There are usually sweet-smelling flowers in the monastery compounds such as zalet, kadeikpin and taloksaga (champac). But among the people generally the favourite plant seems deservedly to be the red hibiscus, which is often combined as hedge and arbour with the pink New Zealand creeper.

A list of the principal trees and shrubs of the district is given at the end of chapter V.

Light-houses. There are three lighthouses in the district, the China Bakir, Eastern Grove, and Table Island. The China Bakir is an iron-framed structure, standing on the edge of the flats at the end of the China Bakir or To river in latitude 16° 17'N.

and longitude 96° 11′ E. It was lighted originally in 1870, and was dismantled and erected in its present position on iron screw piles in 1901. The lighthouse shows a dioptric white light of the first order, fixed and flashing. The focal plane of the light is 74 feet above high-water level. The Eastern Grove lighthouse stands on the east of the entrance to the Rangoon river, in 16° 30′ N. and 96° 23′ E. It shows an occulting dioptric white light of the third order, visible at 15 miles in clear weather. The focal plane of the light is 93 feet above high-water level. The structure is of iron, braced on screw piles. The lighthouse was first lighted in 1860 and was altered in 1881, converted into an occulting light and exhibited on May 9, 1896 and in 1908 fitted with an incandescent burner showing a light of 18,000 candle power. The Table Island lighthouse stands on the summit of the south-west end of Table Island, 2 miles from the Great Cocos Island, in 14° 11′ N. and 93° 21′ E. It shows a dioptric fixed white light of the first order and used to be visible at 20 miles in clear weather but in 1909 it was fitted with an incandescent burner which shows a light of 21,000 candle power. The focal plane of the light is 195 feet above high-water level. The structure is a cast-iron circular tower, painted with alternate red and white bands. The lighthouse was first lighted in 1867. There is a signalling station (marked by an obelisk) at Elephant Point, west of the entrance to the Rangoon river. There is a light vessel at the entrance to the Rangoon River which is moored in 4 fathoms of water near Elephant Point in 16° 27′ N. and 96° 22′ E. It shows a white dioptric flashing light visible 12 miles in clear weather. The focal plane of the light is 45 feet above high-water level. The light was first exhibited in 1887 and was altered in 1898 and 1909.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY AND ARCHÆOLOGY.

Part. I.—Pre-Talaing History.

Geographical limits.

Of necessity there must often be a conflict between tradition and utility, and it cannot be expected that an area constituted artificially for the convenience of present-day administration should form a true historic unit. Thus in tracing the history of Syriam district it is necessary to disregard such limits as are for the time being officially appointed and throughout the first four parts of

this chapter the district referred to is the Hanthawadddy district as it existed just before the partition of 1912. The district takes its name from a city which developed successively into a Kingdom and an Empire. Even however from the earlier days of its expansion the name was particularly applied to the home province, the seat of government. When the Burmans succeeded the Talaings this still remained intact as an administrative area. On the British occupation the name passed into desuetude for twenty years, but was revived when the administration of Rangoon town was separated from the rest of the district. Thus just before the partition of 1912 Hanthawaddy only covered an insignificant portion of the older province, while Syriam and Twante were never incorporated in the Burma province.

This is not the only historical anomaly. The earliest history centres round Rangoon. The later founded city of Hanthawaddy, the Pegu of the present day, succeded Rangoon as focus of the vital forces of the neighbourhood. Neither Rangoon nor Pegu is included within the limits of the Syriam district. It is easy then to comprehend the need of going beyond the actual limits of the district for an explanation of occurrences within this area. This is adverted to by Captain Lloyd in his Gazetteer of 1863, and subsequent changes have not diminished the necessity.

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In one sense it may be said that Hanthawaddy has no history: from another point of view it may be maintained however that it has too much. To the historian who sets himself to trace out some increasing purpose the rise and fall of dynasties and empires in Pegu will offer no attraction. But one who is contented to disentangle from the details of chronology some figure worthy of remembrance will find them worth his study. For this is the characteristic feature of the Hanthawaddy annals: they are episodic. At one time the merchants who throng the ports of Cyrion and Ansidei gather a rich harvest from the villages of the interior, so thickly set that "if a plate be broken on the sea-coast it is heard of the same evening in Toungoo." In a few years' time all these towns and villages are overgrown with jungle and at distant intervalsa few miserable hamlets line the deserted creeks.

The eposodic character is not without advantage to the student, for the history falls naturally into insolated cycles of progress and decline. The first stage, pre-Talaing, ends with the foundation of the city, Hanthawaddy. The second period relates the fortunes of the first dynasty until the invasion under Anawrata. The next period is one of gradual

recuperation until under Wareru the capital is moved from Hanthawaddy to Tenasserim. Then three stages deal with the three successive empires of Pegu : these are followed by the period of Burman domination which in turn gave place to the British occupation.

Early Geography. Although in the earliest traditions of Hanthawaddy there is ample material for conjecture it is not sufficient to prove conjecture true. Numerous legends both Burman and Talaing indicate that even some centuries after the beginning of the Christian era an inlet of the sea extended over the whole deltaic country reaching north so far as Prome, and leaving the higher land an archipelago of tree-clad islands. There is good reason for believing that cities such as Thatôn now far inland were at that time situated by the sea. The present remains of Portuguese docks at Syriam show [1] that even within the last three hundred years much land has been reclaimed. An examination of the physical conditions has led geologists to the same conclusion. [2]

It may be accepted with some degree of confidence that this archipelago was studded with Hindu colonies, engaged in trade, presumably with China, that there was an indigenous population, not of Talaing stock, and that from at least the second century of the Christian era the Cambodians were consolidating their position on the east. An enquiry along these three several lines is necessary to an elucidation of the early history of Hanthawaddy.

The Primitive Indigenes. There is a legend much in vogue among the people of the delta which purports to account for the origin of life in Twante. Sifted of extraneous matter this may possibly convey a picture of the earliest inhabitants. If the jungle-child who figures as the hero may be taken as a prototype of these they had but few accomplishments. They fared on fish, shell-fish especially, which they obtained in tidal limits, and therefore presumably were unacquainted with the use of boats ; they had not learned to use the bow, and can have had little skill in warfare; they did not know the drum, and were thus ignorant of music ; they were even innocent of clothing. If however there is anything in the legend they had learned to kindle fire.[3]

Forchhammer was of opinion that they were Taungthus, [4] who have affinities with the Karens ; but the Taungthus

[1] Settlement Report, 1880.
[2] Geological Papers on Burma, Theobald.
[3] Syriam Yazawin and Lloyd's Gazetteer.
[4] Note on Antiquities, and Jardine Prize Essay.

are described as pre-eminent in music and proudly claim the invention of the drum.[1] Forbes thought that they were a Mon-Khmer tribe,[2] and it is the opinion of Dr. Grierson that "some form of Mon-Khmer speech was once the language of the whole of Further India."[3]

To these people must in all probability be assigned the stone implements which have been found in various localities. These are peculiar for their small size, in being carved with shoulders and in being sharpened chisel-wise, instead of being ground down on both sides after the ordinary manner of a hatchet.[4] Similar remains have been found in Chota Nagpur, but not, it appears, elsewhere in India or Europe. No information seems to be forthcoming as to how far they resemble those of the Malay Peninsula. But suggestions have been made that these early inhabitants belonged to a primitive race widely spread in early times over the south of India, Indo-China and Polynesia. There is a considerable correspondence between the Mon-Khmer languages and that of the Santals of Central India on the one hand and various Austronesian languages on the other. A table of the relationships between these tongues was published by the French Oriental School in 1908.[5] The people who speak them at the present day are certainly of divers races, and it would seem that they owed the common features of their languages to some primitive people, a branch of which must have found its home in Hanthawaddy prior to the arrival of the Talaings.

The Hindu Colonists.

Although the unanimity of tradition is alone sufficient to render it certain that there was at one time a close connection between India and Hanthawaddy, there is little corroborative detail. The legends of the country would trace the connection back to the life time of the Buddha. The Mahavamsa, a history compiled in Ceylon in the fifth century, relates the despatch of Sona and Uttara in 308 at the end of the third Council to Suvannabhumi, which is identified with the Talaing country. If this account can be accepted it is clear that intercourse with India must by that time have been long established. But there are grounds for considering the passage as a later interpolation.[6]

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1 Ramannadesa, Taw Sein Ko.
2 Forbes' Further India, page 20
3 Linguistic Survey.
4 Forbes, op. cit., page 157.
5 Bulletin, Jun, 1908.
6 Taw Sein Ko: Buddhism, vol I, page 599.

If the Burman chronicles can be accepted with reference to the eras of local chronology in early days it is certain however that Hindu influence must have been active in Hanthawaddy by A. D. 78, for in that year the King of Prome abolished the era of Religion, and substituted a new era known as the Dodorasa era. This is the Saka era of India.

From 180 B. C. onwards the Andhra dynasty was supreme over the whole of Middle India. They were fervent Buddhists and notable merchants trading both by land and sea from Rome to China. It would appear not impossible that the colonists who settled along the coasts of Hanthawaddy were people of this nation. It is certain that sometime before the Talaings had entered Hanthawaddy there were pagodas, many of them built of laterite, extending from Syriam and Twante to Pegu and Thatôn. These are undoubtedly among the oldest monuments in Hanthawaddy. [1] They form the subject-matter of a series of legends relating to the Hindu colonists and some of them, as is also the case with the Petleik, one of the oldest pagodas at Pagan, are so old that all tradition of their origin has been forgotten. In the Thatôn pagodas of this series the sculptures have been held [2] to correlate them with the buildings of Orissa. Each group of pagodas may be taken to represent the site of one of these settlements. One of them occupied the laterite ridge which runs from Syriam to Pada; there was another at Twante; and numerous towns were grouped in the vicinity of present-day Rangoon. It cannot be determined how far these different settlements were coeval, and it is probable that at least their relative importance varied from time to time with the shifting of the river and the convenience of trade; the site of Rangoon however would seem always to have been one of the more important centres. The facts that some of these settlements are traditionally known by Sanskrit instead of Pâli names affords a clue to the date of their establishment. Thus the best known of them was Utkala Nagara, the town of Utkala. Utkala is the Sanskrit form of Orissa—in Pali, a later and more euphonious form of speech, it was softened into Ukkala. Trikumbha Nagara was a town, "the town of the Three Hills", comprising the site of the Shwe Dagon Pagoda. The Pâli form would have omitted the

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[1] Similar remains recently discovered in Siam have been held to date from the beginning of the Christian era.

2. British Burma Gazetteer, 1897-80, Volume I, Pages 716-7.

"r", and it was from this Pâli form that Forchhamer considered the name Dagon or Tigun to derive. It has been held that these names are "suggestive of ethnical and historical relations with Hinduic rather than with Buddhist India.[1]" Buddhism was predominant in India from 250 B. C., to 350A.D., so there is good reason for considering that these cannot have been founded subsequent to the latter date, and the augment from nomenclature lends some force to the possibility that they were established before the earlier date.[2]

These colonists appear to have been driven out by the Talaings about the 5th Century A. D. It is perhaps significant that by this time the Andhra domination over central India had come to an end. The period and relations of these Hindu colonists is of some importance in the history of Hanthawaddy as to them is traditionally assigned the honour of introducing Buddhism. Although the evidence is insufficient to regard this as established history, it does not conflict with a provisional assumption which seems to be in accordance with such evidence as is forthcoming. It may be considered then as more than possible that the coasts of Hanthawaddy were colonised from India not later than 200B.C; that the people came from the east coast by way of the sea, their probable origin being the country between the Mahanadi and Godaveri; that the colonists were Buddhists at the time of their arrival or shortly after; that they formed the eastern limit of a trading empire which linked China up with Rome; and that about 300A. D., internal trouble weakened their power in India, and left the colonists comparatively defenceless before the rising power of the Talaings.

Relations between Indigenes and Colonists.

Seeing that even the existence of the indigenes and colonists is not free from doubt, little information can be expected as to their mutual relations. Presumably there were raids and punitive expeditions, and this presumption is strengthened by the earliest legend of Syriam, which tells how a native of the island overcome the ruling dynasty at Pada, and fortifying Syriam, inaugurated a period of native rule.[3] The laterite remains at Pada suggest the former existence of a Hindu colony at this place, and it appears that the island did not become subject to the Talaings until some

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[1] Forchhammer "Shwe Dagon."

[2] On the relation between Pâli and Sanskrit, see Rhys David's Buddhism, volume 1, page 249.

[3] Syriam Yazawin. This legend however has incorporated at least one of the Jatakas in the same account.

centuries after the foundation of Hanthawaddy.[1] The legend is not therefore devoid of probability, but tradition has such a way of playing shuttlecock with the centuries that any basis of fact which the legend may possess may relate to an entirely different period.

The Cambodians.

The third influence presiding over the birth of Hanthawaddy was that of the Khmers, the inhabitants of Cambodia. Here as in Burma and Pegu an Indian civilisation appears to have been grafted on a Mongol stock. The closer connection with China and the survival of inscriptions from the fifth century of the Christian era take back their chronology to a period when nothing is possible in Hanthawaddy but conjecture. It is said that in 125 B.C., China as the result of a successful war was enabled to levy tribute from them.[2] But in the second century after Christ there appears to have been another influx of Hindu civilisation and in the third century a Chinese ambassador met an ambassador from India at the Cambodian Court.[3]

North of these were the Champas, the occupants of Old Annam, a people of similar civilisation, who advanced northwards until they were checked in the fourth century by the Chinese in Tonkin. The civilisation of both these peoples was Hindu, Brahmanic, the classical language of their inscriptions was Sanskrit,[4] and although in the seventh century the Chinese pilgrim Yi-tsing found a few Buddhists in the country this religion never seems to have made much progress. To this source doubtless must be attributed the traces of Shivaism in Thatôn. Chinese civilisation also must have permeated through this channel. It is significant that while the script of the earlier era of Burma is imported from India, that now employed has been derived from China,[5] and was introduced apparently during the acme of Cambodian civilisation. It has been held that both the Talaing and Cambodian script derive from the Vengi script of fourth century India, the latter being the medium by which it passed to the Talaing.[6] Forbes with somewhat less probability thought that both received their letters independently from the same source, the Buddhist missionaries of the fifth century.[7]

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[1] Syriam Yazawin.

[2] Ferguson II, 3 3, Ed. 1910.

[3] Architecture Hindoue, de Beylie, page 79.

[4] An inventory of these is given in the Bulletin of L'Ecole Francaise for June 1908.

[5] Taw Sein Ko Loc. cit.

[6] Jardine Prize Essay.

[7] Op. cit. page 17.

Thus at the time that the Talaings founded Hanthawaddy they seem to have been subject to three influences. The Orissa colonists along the coast were Buddhists of the "Southern" school with their sacred writings in Pâli, and these have played the greatest part in moulding the religion of the present day. To the primitive indigenes they seem to have been indebted for some of the commonest words of their language; "*ka*," for instance, the Talaing for "fish," is found in various forms from Santali to Polynesia. The Cambodians appear to have been the medium for the introduction both of Brahmanism and the influence of China. Prior to the fifth century the Orrissan, and thereafter until the tenth century the Cambodian influence appears respectively to have predominated. Summary of Pre-Talaing Influences.

Part II.—The first Talaing Dynasty.

The Talaings prior to the foundation of Hanthawaddy.—From the similiarity of their tongue it would appear that the Talaings or Mons formed part of the same wave of Mongol immigration as the Khmers, the people of Cambodia. The latter seem to have led the way down the valley of the Mekong to the plains where at a later period they came in contact with the Hindu element already mentioned. The Talaings seem still to have inhabited the uplands, where we still find them when their history, as written by themselves, begins.

At least three versions of the Mon Chronicles are in existence, a copy from Tenasserim translated into German by P. W. Schmidt, and two Burmese translations, one incorporated in the Syriam *Yazawin* and one known as the *Razadirit*, which is apparently the copy used by Phayre in the compilation of his history. They must be distinguished from the Traditions antecedent to and amplifying the earlier chronicles some of which have been collected, some still being handed down only by word of mouth. A collection of these is published under the title, "Mon *Yazawin*." Both Chronicles and Traditions open with a prophecy of the Buddha concerning the foundation of Hanthawaddy. They represent that at the time when the site of the future city first rose above the waters the Buddha was travelling in Ramanna, the country of the Mons:

"The Master was journeying among the places of the North when he reached the summit of Kara Puppata. On observing the pair of *Hinthas*, large and small, circling in the air above Kara Puppata

with their wings clasped in reverence the Master gave this oracle in the presence of Gawunpati and of Ananda and of the Sekra Lord himself. 'In the place where the *Hinthas* large and small are resting shall be set the dwelling of the Razatani Prince, and the limits of their feeding ground shall be the city boundaries.'"

The limits then described coincide roughly with the limits of Lower Burma between the Arakan Mountains and Tenasserim.

The Chronicles are then silent until the founding of the city. In the Traditions the gap is filled with legend. Noteworthy features of the legends are the existence of several petty tribes. Principalities are mentioned at Taikkala, Thatôn and Don-Zaingtu. Seven kings unite to attack Gola Nagara. They show traces of intercourse, such as the last mentioned, with the Hindu colonists, and describe the alleged visit of Sona and Uttara, Buddhist missionaries and the numerous migrations from east to west. They tally therefore with what seem to have been the facts that about the beginning of the Christian era the Talaings were ill-organised tribes scattered about the upper waters of the Mekong; that the rising Hindu power in Cambodia and Champa drove them west and south where they came in contact with the Buddhist colonies long before established; and that under this double pressure they acquired a political entity which enabled them to drive out or assimilate the colonists.

After the foundation of Hanthawaddy the Traditions run along two courses, one a barren list of kings, presumably the princes of Cambodia, the other relating in greater detail the fortunes of the dynasty established by the founders of Hanthawaddy.

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Although recent custom has rendered it convenient to talk of these people as Talaing this was not the name by which they generally called themselves. In fact, it is not certain that this style was used at all until the Burman conquest in the middle of the eighteenth century. Two suggestions have been made as to its origin. According to Phayre they took their name from the early colonists along the coasts. These are supposed to have been people from Kalinga, the course of time having eliminated the final vowel and modified the initial letter into. "t"[1]

Forchhammer pointed out that the Talaings spoke of themselves as "Mon," and that there appeared no trace of the former name in their earlier history. He suggested

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[1] Forbes followed Phayre, op. cit., page 37.

accordingly that the word was a compound formed by the use of a Talaing word signifying " oppressed " as a numerative, and that the term had been invented after the Burman conquest. It has been stated however by Parker that the word Talaing occurs in the Chinese chronicles so early as 1603 when it is stated in the Momein annals that " Siam and Teleng in consecutive years attacked Burma. "[1] In this passge however "Teleng" may signify some tribe of Shans with whom the Burmans were at that time continually involved. No definite conclusion therefore is at present possible.

The foundation of Hanthawaddy.

It is not until the foundation of Hanthawaddy in 514A.D. that the Chronicles begin. They give a very brief account, but in the legends there is greater detail. Thamala and Wimala were the founders, the twin sons of Teiktha Dhamma Thiha Raza, the first king of Thuwanna Bhumi. He was the offsping of a dragon and had been tended as a child by Teiktha Kumara and Thiha Kumara, the sons of Teiktha Raza, king of the " ancient city of Thupeinda. " Their mother is also represented as the offspring of a dragon. It was apparently on the discovery of their mother's parentage that they were exiled from their father's kingdom. Podaw Rathe, the hermit who had tended their mother as a child, comforted them in their adversity by recounting the prophecy concerning Hanthawaddy, and announced that they were destined to found the city. They set forth towards the West and arrived at the kingdom of Keinne Reze, who ruled at Don Zaingtu. His grandfather, Thamonte Reze, had ruled the city during the lifetime of the Buddha, and had received the Law from Maha Thawaka and Sula Thawaka, two merchants who had made the journey to the middle country. Keinne Reze joined them in their quest. After two years wandering they arrived at Hanthawaddy which is some miles west of Don Zaingtu. Here they found a colony of Hindus. These were descendants of people who had been sent there by Dili, king of Banga, beyond the mountains on the west, when first he heard of the appearance of the island.

Shortly after the appearance of the island, Dili, King of the twelve cities of Banga, heard of its emergencey, and sent a hundred armed men in two vessels with an iron post, fifteen cubits long and seven spans in girth to mark it out as a possession of his kingdom. One boat and forty men under a headman were left behind to guard it. Banga was west of the mountain range of Bassein. When Thamala and

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[1] Burma, page 72, Parker.

Wimala and Keinne Reze and their followers arrived they trod all over it, as by this time it had become hard. The head of the Hindu Colony was a man named Sheikh Abdulla Law. He asked them why they were prospecting on his island where for more than a hundred years they had been guarding the iron post. The Talaings haughtily made answer "It is our own Mon country of Ramanna. It is not fitting that you foreigners should come proudly trespassing and mark it as your own. It is within our country. You do not own it. We only are the owners". The Thagya Min, warned in the usual manner that something untoward was happening, took note of the dispute and came to earth, assuming the form of an old carpenter Wagaki by name. He welcomes the Talaings and tells them that as a Master Carpenter he has come to help them build a palace there according to the promise and prepare a shrine for the relics of Buddha. They inform him of their difficulty, and he replies "Tell them that on the first appearance of the island there were buried in token of Talaing possession nine copper trays, nine iron sickles and a basket of peas. Tell them this, and I, the carpenter, your father, will settle the dispute". On the day appointed for decision the Talaing make answer as instructed and the Carpenter pronounces judgement "Let them dig and see which lies the deeper."

The beans and trays and sickles are found beneath the iron post, and it is evident that they had first been buried. The foreigners admit the justice of the judgment, and making an offering of cloth and fine linen, jewels, gold and silver they pay their reverence and depart. Thus by guile, the prophecy reached fulfilment.

The long migration from east to west, the situation of the Hindu Kingdom in the west and not across the water to the south, and the helping presence of the Sekra Lord are noticeable points The name of the city also points to Buddhist influence, the Hintha, or Hansa, having been long appropriated as a sacred symbol.

The first dynasty Hanthawaddy.

Thamala was the first king and his brother Wimala succeeded him. Attha, a posthumous son of Thamala, was the third prince. It was long before the Hindus ceased endeavouring to regain by force what they had lost by guile and during the reign of Wimala they had nearly gained their point, but Attha succeeded in finally defeating them.

Thamala became enamoured of a village maiden, but she was not desirous of her destined honour. She took refuge in a gourd tree full of flower, and was therefore known as "Queen of the Golden Gourd." For ten years she bore no son to Thamala, but shortly after his decease was delivered of a child. Wimala however had seized the kingdom and married the queen. For the better establishment of his position, he ordered that the child should be made away with. The mother was forced to pretend compliance, but she would not let her son be killed and he was thrown by night among a herd of buffaloes belonging to a woman Mi Nan Galaing. In the morning when the latter went to loose the cattle she found the baby, took pity on him and brought him up herself. When he was old enough she set him to tend the buffaloes, and as she wandered with them through the jungle he learnt the language of every living beast. He played fearlessly with

tigers and other wild animals and thus became endowed with more than ordinary subtlety and strength. By the time that he was thirteen years of age, Wimala his uncle had been driven to great extremities by the Hindu incursions. Lamba, a giant, seven cubits high, led the foreign army and there was no champion in Hanthawaddy to stand before him. Attha however had never been forgotten by his mother, and she had visited him secretly. He heard of the king's distress and offered himself as guardian of his country. By a simple wile and a swift blow, he transfixed the giant with his spear and rid the country of the foreigners. His parentage was then made known, he was reconciled to his uncle and on the death of Wimala succeeded to the throne.

Maheintha was the sixth prince after Thamala. He also is the centre of legends, and a rationalist interpretation suggests that in his time there was a revival of serpent worship. In his reign also Hanthawaddy seems to have come into contact with Syriam.

Altogether there were seventeen generations and Punnarika and Teiktha Raza are the names given to the last two monarchs. Phayre has suggested that these represent two periods of struggle between Buddhism and Brahmanism. This suggestion finds corroboration in the legend relating the final victory of Buddhism in the reign of Teiktha Raza.

The legend of Bhadradevi bears internal evidence of authenticity and is at the same time, to a modern mind, one of the most attractive of these tales. In the time of Teiktha Raza Buddhism had fallen into disrepute, the pagodas were in ruins and the figures of the Buddha overturned and buried in the earth or cast into the water. Bhadradevi, the daughter of a merchant was one day bathing when she hit her foot against something that proved to be one of these golden images. An old attendant had come with her to the bathing place, and in answer to her questions told her of the Buddha and the Law. She immediately decided to embrace it and risk all evil consequences. Her devotion was so manifest that news of it before long reached the king. He summoned her before him, and finding she was resolved in her contumacy ordered that she be thrown before the elephants. These refused to tread on her, so he again gave orders for her death, this time decreeing that she be cast into a furnace. The flames, by virtue of the Buddha and her faith in him, rose round her harmlessly. This marvel made the king send for her again to question her, and when she proclaimed the message of the Buddha disposed him to accept it. Then he re-established Buddhism and to show his gratitude raised the maiden to the throne. She was very beautiful.

Although the legend relates the final victory of Buddhism, it was with Teiktha Raza that the first dynasty came to an end. Their downfall is ascribed to his having been a follower of Devadat. It seems more probable that they were conquered by Anawrata on his expedition to Thatôn. The Chronicle relates that governors from Pagan were henceforth sent to administer the kingdom.

PART III.—THE EMPIRES OF PEGU.

The three empires of Hanthawaddy.

The date given by Phayre for the close of Teiktha Raza's reign is 781 A.D., but it appears that the reign of Penarika and Teiktha Raza represent a period of strife between Buddhist and Hindu influence which lasted until the conquest of Thatôn by Anawrata about 1050 A.D. Thenceforward governors were appointed from Pagan. The names of three are given in the History of Syriam, but it is probable that only those three were singled out for mention who rebelled against the Burman rule. The last of these, Tarabya, was successful, but he succumbed to Wareru, the Prince of Martaban, who ascended the throne in 1287. Here the early history of Hanthawaddy ends; such little knowledge as we possess has to be gathered from numerous sources and supplemented by conjecture; hence it has been necessary to consider it with some degree of fulness. For the later period we are on firmer ground, it is unnecessary to consider it in detail, and indeed the material is so ample that it would be impossible to do so. The province of Dala has always been a bone of contention between Burma and Hanthawaddy; any attack upon Pegu by water, has first necessitated the conquest of Dala. If the attack was made by land the invading army usually left the Irrawaddy at Hlaing and marched across the northern portion of the old Hanthawaddy (now Insein) district. Hence the country side is rich in monuments of Burmese history, walled cities and old forts and memories of battle. Dala and Syriam have given titles to innumerable princes, and their strongholds there have been the occasion of almost as numerous rebellions. Embassies to Ceylon have set out from Dala, and in later days this place and Syriam have been the parts frequented by adventurers from foreign countries. It was at Syriam that the Barnabite fathers initiated missionary effort, and much of the hardest fighting in the first and second Burmese wars took place within the limits of Hanthawaddy district. All that can be attempted therefore is to sketch in outline a few of the salient features of the local history.

The first incident of more than local importance occurred during the Burman governorship. An embassy was sent from Ceylon about 1181 A. D. and as the result of a dispute arising out of this embassy Dala was invaded by the King of Ceylon.[1] There are the remains of an old

[1] Phayre, page 50.

monument at Letkaik which Forchhammer thought to commemorate this incident.[1] It is Dala also with which the next occurrence is connected. Narathihapadi, later known as Talokpyomin, was expelled from his kingdom at Pagan in 1284 and took refuge in Dala, of which Kyawswa, his son and subsequent successor, was governor at the time. This is still remembered in oral tradition. About the same time Tarabya, the Burman Governor of Pegu, threw off his allegiance to Burma and called Wareru, the Prince of Martaban, to his assistance. He succeded in expelling the Burmans after a series of engagements between Dala and Henzada.[2] He then thought to overcome Wareru by treachery, and having persuaded him to disperse his soldiery, made an attack upon him. Wareru discovered his design in time to frustrate it, and "calling the guardian spirits of earth and air to witness that he was innocent poured out water from a golden bowl in testimony against Tarabya."[3] He mounted his elephant and wounding Tarabya took him prisoner. A few years later when Tarabya again made an attempt upon him he ordered his execution. In the days when they had formed an alliance each had espoused the other's daughter. Now that Tarabya was sentenced to death, his wife, the daughter of the king, pleaded for him, but finding her father resolved to give Tarabya no further opportunity of showing his treachery she mingled her hair with that of her husband's so that both their heads might be cut off at the same time. Wareru was informed about her action but he did not relent. "Cut the head off" he said, in effect, "and see if she still cares to go about with their tresses intermingled."

After the capture of Tarabya Wareru removed the seat of the kingdom to Martaban, and there is little of importance in the history of Hanthawaddy until the grandson of Wareru returned from Martaban in 1323 A. D. The first epoch of Talaing literature originates with Wareru.[4]

The Pe[gu] Em[pire]

With a re-establishment of a dynasty at Pegu commences the history of the first Peguan Empire. The reign of the first monarch Binya-U was occupied in evercoming the pretensions of the Shans of Martaban, but a succession of able rulers brought about between 1354 and 1551 A.D. the consolidation of Martaban, Hanthawaddy and Bassein into a single empire. The foundations were laid by Binya

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[1] Set. Rept. 1881, *see* also Chapter XIV.

[2] Phayre, page 65. Razadirit, page 10, 11. History of Syriam.

[3] History of Syriam, Razadirit.

[4] Forchhammer. Jardine Prize Essay.

Nwe, the son of Binya-U. This prince was appointed by his father ruler of Dagon, and when forced to defend himself against the machinations of his step-mother and half brothers he fortified this town against his father. Binya-U died before open war had been declared, and Binya Nwe succeeded. On coming to the throne he adopted the title of Razadirit. The chronicles of his reign still survive in a volume of over three hundred pages. The foundation of the Danok Pagoda is ascribed to him [1]. The town of Hlaing in Insein district was founded by him as an outpost against the inroads of Burmans while Tabu Myo in the same neighbourhood is evidence still surviving of the rebellion of his eldest son [2]. His civil administration was more enduring than his military power; he organised the "Thirty-two Provinces of Hanthawaddy," which remained the basis of the administration until the advent of the British [3].

His death however saw a temporary recrudescence of anarchy. One son, the Prince of Syriam, rebelled, another, the Prince of Dagon, followed his brother's example, and the Burman army occupied Hlaing in preparation for the subjugation of the kingdom, while the outlying provinces including Dala, passed under their sway [4]. Dhamma Raza, the son of Razadirit, succeeded to the throne. His brothers however remained for a time in opposition, and it is in connection with the troubles of this time that there comes into prominence Shin Saw Bu, one of the greatest characters of Peguan History, who married six husbands and became in succession Princess of Dala, Queen of Burma, and in her old age by popular election Empress of Pegu. She was sister to Binya Ran, and Dhamma Raza, and when the former rebelled and fortified Dagon against his brother she was given in marriage to the King of Burma in return for his alliance; such was her charm of personality that he crowned her Queen Consort, [4] a position almost if not entirely without precedent in Burman annals. Before however she became Empress of Pegu there were five rulers in succession to Dhamma Raza and the ordinary accompaniment of war and rebellion in Hlaing,

[1] Razadirit.

[2] Chapter XIV Phayre, page 74. British Burma Gazetteer, Article on Hlaing.

[3] Chapter IX Pre British Administration. Laurie.

[4] Phayre. *Shwehmawdaw Thamaing, page* 104.

[4] Shwehmawdaw Thamaing, page 118. Phayre, page 82.

Syriam and Dala [1]. The reign of Binya Waru was an exception. (1426-30 A. D). He eschewed warfare, perceiving the damage which had been wrought upon his kingdom and set himself to the suppression of crime with such effect that even a cat was executed for the murder of a mouse. Shin Saw Bu came to the throne in 1457 A.D. (B. E. 815) but shortly afterwards took up her residence at Dagon where she built a palace, the ramparts of which are at present the bunkers on the golf course. The actual work of Government devolved on Dhamma Zedi who had been a monk and who succeeded her in 1464 A.D. (B.E. 822). He was like his predecessor of peaceful inclination and it is probable that many of the "Thirty-seven Pagodas of Angyi" bear witness to the intercourse which existed with Ceylon during the reign of this prince [2]. Shin Saw Bu had extended the glebe lands of the Shwe Dagon Pagoda so far as Danok, but he retrenched them considerably, compensating however for the restriction in area by valuable gifts of gold and gems [3].

The Burman power had now declined beneath the Shan usurpers, and the last Peguan monarchs were therefore enabled to carry further the consolidation inaugurated by Razadirit, but the local history of Hanthawaddy becomes of less importance when the Burmans cease to make their advance by way of Hlaing and Dala. The rising dynasty of Toungoo is from henceforth the storm centre of the annals and the jungles of Hanthawaddy form a refuge for exiled princes fighting for lost causes. During the reign of Binya Ran there was still peace but the succession of Takarut Bi, his son, a boy of fifteen who gave up his time to hunting and other light amusements, was the signal for the onset of Tabin Shweti and in 1540 A. D. the first Peguan Empire was brought to an end by the defeat of Takarut Bi [4]. The second epoch of Talaing literature extends from the reign of Dhamma Zedi to the fall of the empire.

The second Peguan Empire.

With the accession of Tabin Shweti begins the second Peguan Empire under the Toungoo dynasty. This endured for 200 years, a rather shorter period than the empire which it replaced. So far as Hanthawaddy is concerned it is with commerce rather than with war that this period is connected. But the former names remain. Dala

[1] Shwehmawdaw Thamaing, page 112.
[2] *See* Chapter XIV.
[3] History of Syriam. Shwehmawdaw Thamaing.
[4] Shwehmawdaw Thamaing, page 126.

and Syriam are no longer theatres of war but busy markets where merchants congregate. We hear of Dala, which is a "very faire town and hath a faire port into the sea, from whence go many ships to Malacca, Mecca and many other places. It is a very fruitful country." Just beside Dala is "Cirion, which is a good town and hath a faire porte into the sea, whither come many ships from Mecca, Malacca, Sumatra and from divers other places. And there the ships staie and discharge, and send up their goods in Paroes to Pegu." [1]

There are still wars but they are rather rebellions fomented by the Portuguese against the sovereign power than contests between equal princes. The defeated subjects are forced to turn to the Portuguese for help. "Valiant and faithful Commander", commences one address to the Portuguese leader by a Talaing prince who has incurred defeat, "through the grace of the King of the other end of the world, the strong and mighty Lion, dreadfully roaring with a crown of majesty in the House of the Sun, I the unhappy Saw Binya, heretofore a prince, but now no longer so, finding myself besieged in this wretched and unfortunate city, do give thee to understand by the words pronounced out of my mouth, with an assurance no less faithful than true, that I now render myself the vassal of the great king of Portugal, sovereign lord of me and my children, with an acknowledgment of homage, and such tribute as he shall at his pleasure impose upon me". [2] This two hundred years is divided into three periods. From 1340 until 1599 Burma is yet independent of Pegu; then with the reign of Nyaing Yan Min it becomes subordinate to it and the Shan dynasty is driven out. With the conquest of Burma the hold of the princes is loosened over the south of the country, and the Portuguese are enabled to establish themselves in the person of de Brito, "Nga Zinga," as the Burmans still remember him, as master of the lower province, including Toungoo, which they ruled from Syriam. The Burmans and Peguans drive them out and Nga Zinga is executed, but these foreign adventurers have proved themselves dangerous neighbours and to this in all probability may be assigned the removal of the headquarters of the kingdom from Pegu to Ava under Tha Lun Min in 1635. Henceforth until 1740 Ava remains the capital although Pegu is the more important member of the empire.

[1] Hakluyt: Fintch's voyage, page 299.
[2] Pinto, page 296.

During this period Syriam is the chief city of the southern province [1] The writings of the early adventurers of these times are full of references to Hanthawaddy (Ansidei or Ānsedea) but it is impossible to trace them out in detail.

The third Peguan Empire. The Barnabite Fathers.

The Third Peguan Empire was but a passing phase; it consisted of the temporary restoration of the local power of Pegu. It receives an added interest in being the occasion of the introduction of the Christian missionary effort. It was impossible permanently to rule a rich and distant province from a remote and comparatively barbarous centre, and as the royal line grew weaker the Talaings found an opportunity for asserting themselves. Their attempts to cast off the Burman yoke succeeded in 1740 A.D. and in 1751 they again subjugated the Burman kingdom. The Barnabite fathers landed in Syriam in 1721 A.D. and after the restoration of a dynasty in Pegu in 1740 prospered to such an extent that in 1750 they were enabled to build a large brick church of which the ruins still exist.[2] With the arrival of the Burmans however they were suspected of entering into correspondence with the French on behalf of the Talaings, and the Bishop was executed in 1756. The mission in Syriam ceased to exist immediately after the Bishop's death.

Part IV.—Modern History.

The Burman Conqust.

A Toungoo dynasty had conquered Pegu, and Toungoo had become absorbed in Pegu; a Peguan dynasty had conquered Ava and in the course of time Pegu had become absorbed in Ava. The uprising of the Talaings under Buddha Keti in 1740 had been the uprising of a nation, and when Alaung Paya took up the cause of Burma it was again a nation rising against a foreign power. Henceforth there was no course for Burman and Talaing but the long arbitrament of a national war. In former records it is a matter calling for no remark that Burmans and Talaings were to be found fighting on either side but this now ceased.[3] The greater part of the fighting was carried on within the limits of what was afterwards Rangoon district, and the old district of Hanthawaddy was the scene of some of the most notable achievements. The investment of Dala was signalised by the Talaing leader floating through the Burman lines as a

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[1] See Chapter XI.

[2] History of Roman Catholic Mission, Bigandet. *See* also Chapter XIV *Syriam.*

[3] History of Syriam.

corpse, returning the next day with reinforcements to raise the seige. The siege of Syriam lasted more than a year and the place was only conquered in the end by a courageous stratagem. The Burman army was encamped at Bogyok; and to deceive the enemy a festival was held with drums and music. The sounds floating over to the Talaing city on the hill induced the leaders and watchmen to relax their vigilance. Under cover of the revelry a devoted band of thirteen warriors, the "Golden Company" made their way over the walls and flung open the gate to the Burman army. They rushed in through the Wetthataga, the gate where Nga Than Hlyin in olden days had killed the legendary boar, and put the inhabitants to the sword. After Pegu had been taken at the end of a two months' siege the jungles in the Dawbon township, north of Syriam, received the royal fugitives.[1] The exploits of various heroes receive due acknowledgment in the chronicles and there is a pleasant picture of a Talaing leader, who had been taken as a prisoner after many valiant deeds, being received with honour by the Burman king. The Burmans seem to have used their victory with moderation and Alaung Paya took in marriage the daughter of the King and honourably entertained the monarch whom he deposed. But there were continual risings until the first British war in 1826 when the Talaing governor of Syriam again made an attempt to recover the independence of his country. It is on record that in 1826 there had ceased to be any national antipathy in Pegu, the extermination and banishment of the leaders and the "judicious treatment of the conquered having long since removed any appearance of distinction between Burman and Peguan. No individual preferences were shown and all enjoy equal rights and privileges, and both are eligible to fill the highest posts under Government."[2] This however can hardly have been the case in view of the serious depopulation of the district of Hanthawaddy which took place during this period, and the repeated risings. It is more probable that there was to some extent a union against a common invader, and that the differences between Burman and Peguan were temporarily set aside.

The Foreign Factories. The early arrivals from the west had been isolated adventurers, sometimes merchants such as di Conti, Cæsar Frederic and Fitch, sometimes little better than pirates such as de Saurez and de Brito. It appears that an English

[1] Alaung Paya Ayadawbon.
[2] Snodgrass, page 87.

factory was the first to be established after the downfall of de Brito's tyranny, Syriam having been apparently one of the agencies of the East India Company formed in Indo-China in 1612. In 1631, the Dutch were established there, but a dispute occurred between the Talaing governor and the head factory of the Dutch in the middle of the seventeenth century and all foreigners were ejected. The Dutch never returned; nor does it appear that the Burmans and Peguans were ever anxious for the return of either; "it was impossible that they should forget the conduct of Genzales or de Brito, or should draw distinctions between Portuguese adventurers and British and French officers. Subsequent events only proved how right they were."[1] In 1695 a British sailor died intestate and his property according to the custom of civilized countries[2] at the time escheated to the crown. This was made the pretext for obtaining the establishment of a factory and although permission was gained in 1698 nothing further was done and matters appear to have continued on a somewhat indefinite footing until 1740. At this time, there was a British factor in charge, a Mr. Smart, who attempted without success to keep in with both parties, deceiving apparently both of them alike. On the final victory of the Talaings, the factory was burnt down and the agency had to be withdrawn. The missions which were also thereby put in peril were shortly re-established; the factories were never rebuilt there.

The invasion of Alaung Paya in 1755 however gave a further opportunity of intrigue which was exercised by British and French alike. Although both parties had a foot in either camp, the British in the main supported the Burmans and the French the Talaings. In the event the Burman king magnanimously overlooking their duplicity granted the British permission to build a factory at Rangoon. Just afterwards, however, the British and French ships including the vessel of which the captain had been treating with Alaung Paya joined the Talaing boats in an attack upon the Burmans. They were beaten off and the permission to establishment a factory was withdrawn. Other factories had also been permitted outside the limits of Hanthawaddy district, but the fortunes of these it is unnecessary to follow. From this time trade was conducted by isolated merchants and not by the recognition of factories.

1. British Burma Gazetteer, Vol. I, page 295.
2. The leading case is quoted in the the Sentimental Journey.

Part V.

History of the district from 1754 to 1853.

Alaung Paya was really one Aungzeya, *Myothugyi* of a town near Ava. He rose against the Talaings who had successfully rebelled in 1740, and their acting governor of Ava fled to Rangoon, then called Dagon, where the Burmese massacred the Talaing garrison. Soon afterwards Aungzeya came down and made himself master of the delta of the Irrawaddy and declared himself king of Burma and Pegu assuming the title of "Alaung Paya" and fixing his capital at Ava. He finally captured the town of Pegu with its king and defeated his general Dalaban at Martaban in 1757. He was recalled from his victorious expedition to Manipur in 1758 by a fresh revolt of the Peguans who had recaptured Rangoon but before he himself arrived his generals had stamped out the rebellion. He died while on an expedition to Manipur in 1760.

His son the Sagaing Min, generally known as Nyaungdawgyi, ascended the throne after some disorder in 1761 with his capital at Sagaing but died in 1764 and was succeeded by his younger brother the Myehtumin and the "lord of the white elephant" who re-established the capital at Ava. In 1769 the French sent him an embassy which obtained permission to establish a factory but no advantage was taken of the offer and the French never again appear as traders in Burma till after the British annexation. In 1771 during an unsuccessful Talaing rebellion Rangoon again suffered a short siege. In 1776 the king visited Rangoon, removed the Talaing "htee" (topmost ornament) from the Shwe Dagon Pagoda and replaced it by one he had brought with him.

In 1776 he died and was succeeded by his son Singu Min who was dethroned in 1781 and succeeded by the son Naungdawgyi who reigned only eleven days being murdered by his uncle Bhodabura, or Mintayagyi, who seized the throne and moved the capital to Amarapura. He too had to put down a rebellion of the Peguans in his first year. During his reign which lasted till 1819 there was a good deal of friction with the British.

He was succeeded by his grandson Bagyidaw in whose reign further outrages were committed on British subjects and in 1824 an invasion made into Cachar, a state then under British protection. War at last broke out between the British and Burmese and a British force under Sir A. Campbell landed at Rangoon in May of that year and besieged it and stormed and destroyed a stockade at Kemmendine

(now part of Rangoon Town district). Fighting continued at and near Rangoon for some time but on an expedition being sent Syriam was found to be deserted by the Burmans A truce followed, but on the resumption of hostilities two strong stockades at Kemmendine were stormed and taken by the British, who however suffered disease and the want of fresh food and seemed to have found Rangoon, during the rains at least, very unhealthy. Meanwhile the Burmese had re-entered Syriam and were driven out by a detachment. Pegu and Martaban were taken without difficulty by the British, but a detachment suffered a severe defeat at Kyaikkalo, on the ridge near Sangyiwa in Insein district, in October. This, however, was retrieved, and about the same time the Burmese were driven from their stockades at Tantabin on the Hlaing river in the Insein district. In the beginning of December the chief Burman army under their famous general Bandoola arrived at Rangoon and invested the British lines, but they were defeated, their last fort, at Dala, captured and a strong body of them driven out of their intrenchments at Kokine, now in Rangoon Town district. Finally, after driving out the Burmans who had reoccupied Syriam, the British army proceeded up the river to attack Donabyu, and the Hanthawaddy district ceased to be a theatre of operations in this the first Burmese war.

On the evacuation of the British troops, however, the Peguans, who had been freed from the Burmans during their occupation, made another attempt to recover their independence and rose under Maung Sat, the Governor of Syriam, and attacked Rangoon, but were defeated.

In 1831 the king became insane and the government fell into the hands of his brother-in-law, Minthagyi, formerly a fishmonger, but in 1837 the king's brother—the Tharrawaddy prince—seized the throne and established his capital at Amarapura. In 1841 he visited Rangoon and repaired the Shwe Dagôn Pagoda and cast a bell for it. Soon afterwards he became insane and finally died in 1846 and was succeeded by his son, the Pagan prince. In that year the Governor of Rangoon was one Maung Ut, who practised extortion and intimidation on the British traders in Rangoon. Redress was refused and in 1852 the second Burmese war broke out. Rangoon was occupied and the Shwe Dagôn Pagoda hill captured with a rush. The inhabitants of the neighbourhood proved friendly and brought in provisions for sale, and in consequence of precautions taken by the Viceroy, Lord Dalhousie, the health of the troops was very

much better than in the war of 1824. Martaban was quickly taken and Bassein and Pegu fell soon afterwards, but the last was handed over to the Talaings to hold. The Burmans reoccupied it, however, and were not dislodged without considerable difficulty. The province of Pegu was then formally annexed by the British. It still remained to drive out the remains of the Burman troops, but these were suddenly recalled to the capital. A rebellion had broken out and the Mindôn prince deposed the king, the Pagan prince, and made himself master of what was left of the kingdom in 1853.

The British had then only the task of putting down the bands of robbers which infested the country. Some account of these is given in Chapter IX. The history of Hanthawaddy subsequent to its occupation by the British in 1853 is described in the same chapter.

Part VI.—Archæology.

Archæology.

The archæology of Hanthawaddy has never been studied, but casual observation reveals three main lines of enquiry, each of which would amply repay research. There is the problem of the laterite ruins, the problem of the pagodas of the Letkaik series and the problem of the Talaing cities. Nothing has been effected yet, and scarcely anything attempted, towards their solution. There is a Roman Catholic Church at Syriam dating from 1750 A.D., which is under the care of the archæological department.

The laterite ruins.

All down the Syriam ridge and for miles inland in the Syriam subdivision there are found great blocks of laterite remains. At Pada there are laterite ruins connected in tradition with Anindaraza, the last prince of the dynasty preceding that of Nga Than Hlyin.[1] At Twante there are laterite remains of a building erected on three terraces after the fashion of Talaing pagodas, but it is talked of as a palace.[2] At Kyaikkauk the pagoda is octagonal and built entirely of laterite. These pagodas and other laterite ruins are included in a series of similar remains found between Pegu, Syriam and Thatôn.[3] Their distribution corresponds roughly with that of the Orissa colonists, but they are all of Buddhist origin so far as identification is possible at present; traditions relating to them have been forgotten or else

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[1] Settlement Report, 1880, section 56.
[2] Settlement Report, 1882, section 21.
[3] "Objects of Interest," 1892.

referring to a period antecedent to the arrival of the Talaings. Fragments of sculpture have been definitely connected with Orissa.[1] The Talaings so far as can be ascertained have always built in brick. It is difficult to resist the conclusion that these pagodas and other buildings were built by the Orissan colonists at some time between 500 B.C. and 500 A.D.

The Letkaik Series.

Other pagodas may conveniently be grouped as the Letkaik series. This includes the brick pagodas at Letkaik, Denanaw, Ingalôn, Sapagan, Kungyangôn, Mungalôn, and possibly also the Shwe San Daw at Twante, the Danôk pagoda and the Kyauktan pagoda and others which it is unnecessary to mention. Those on the Twante side of the Thakutpin creek were at one time known collectively as the "Thirty-seven Pagodas of Angyi" The Letkaik pagoda which gives its name to the series owes its importance to the existence of some old Talaing inscriptions on the platform. These were considered by Forchhammer to date from the twelfth century[2]: and if this theory be correct they are by far the oldest Talaing inscriptions known in Lower Burma. The copy which he examined and translated was from a tracing made by Captain Parrott in 1880, but the tracing and translation have been lost and the stone pillars have been broken and only half the inscription now remains. It is perhaps more probable that some of them date from the reign of Razadirit in the end of the fourteenth century; that at Danôk is definitely connected with this king in tradition[3]—and that some date from the reign of Dhamazedi towards the close of the fifteenth century. The chronicles apparently gave reason for believing them to coincide with the date of a mission to Ceylon, and Dhamazedi organised the most important of those embassies. Detailed research may indicate the necessity for distributing the pagodas of this series over a considerable period.

Walled cities.

Remains still indicate or have indicated within recent years the existence of walled cities at Pada, Syriam, Khabin, Myogôn (Sapagan) and Twante; the first two were in the province of Syriam and the last three fell in Dala. At Syriam the older inhabitants can still trace the old walls and identify the gates by name.

There are remains at Syriam of the Portuguese city of the fifteenth century.

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1 British Burma Gazetteer, Vol. II, pages 716-717.
2 Settlement Report, 1882, section 24.
3 Settlement Report, 1881.

CHAPTER III.

THE PEOPLE.

opulation: growth.

The growth of the population and its distribution with regard to area and race afford an useful index to the course of economic change; adequate treatment is beyond the limits of a Gazetteer, but even a cursory survey is full of interest and may be of considerable utility. The annual census which was a feature of early Anglo-Burman administration enables us to trace with some degree of accuracy the yearly increase prior to the first regular census held in 1872. The relation traceable between population and cultivated area and the comparatively stationary state of the population from 1857 to 1860 support the estimate that under normal conditions shortly before the annexation there were some 200,000 people within the area subsequently constituted as Rangoon district. The estimate of 400,000 made by the Commissioner in 1855, is probably much above the mark.

1855—1872.

The first return on record is that for 1855 when the population of Rangoon district was returned as 175,185. In 1860 separate figures are available for Rangoon town; in this year there were 61,570 people residing within the town and 213,272 in the remainder of the district. A check by European officials of the return for Rangoon town justified in the opinion of the Deputy Commissioner that the figures had "attained as great a degree of correctness as is possible," but in 1865 a similar check in selected circles of the district showed a deficiency in the returns of 27 per cent.

The figures of these early years are of sufficient interest to justify reproduction at length:—

Years.	Population in Rangoon Town.	In the rest of Rangoon District.	Total.
1	2	3	4
1855 ...	38,055	137,130	175,185
1856 ...	...		178,889
1857 ...	...		201,633
1858 ...	...	...	195,759
1859 ...	...	...	221,823
1860 ...	61,570	213,272	274,842
1861 ...	...	...	283,714

[1] British Burma Gazeetter., Vol. II, page 553.

Years.	Population in Rangoon Town.	In the rest of Rangoon District.	Total.
1	2	3	4
1862 ...	61,138	236,121	297,259
1863 ...	63,256	249,999	313,255
1864 ...	66,577	246,149	312,726
1865 ...	69,866	247,523	317,389
1866 ...	71,186	280,231	351,417
1867 ...	72,675	285,400	358,075
1868 ..	96,942	264,495	361,437
1869 ...	93,163	257,149	350,312
1870 ...	100,000	273,078	373,078
1871 ...	77,777	310,035	387,812
1872 ...	80,096	348,236	428,332

The first regular census was held in 1872. The figures differ from those given in the annual returns as shown below:—

The first Census, 1872.

——	Rangoon Town.	Rangoon District.
1	2	3
Annual Return	80,096	348,236
Census	98,745	332,324

In 1875 the town of Rangoon became a separate administrative unit and the townships of Pyapôn, Yandoon and Thôngwa were allotted to the newly constructed district of Thôngwa. The census of 1872 does not give details regarding areas smaller than the district.

The second Census, 1881.

The next census was held in 1881. The district was known as Hanthawaddy after the separation of Rangoon town in 1875; the Pyapôn, Yandoon and Thôngwa townships, which had been contained within the district at the previous census, were now excluded, but it still comprised two townships subsequently allotted to Pegu district. The population was returned as 427,720, constituting 11·5 per cent. of the provincial total.

In this census the figures are available for each circle and it is therefore possible to estimate the population in those areas then or subsequently transferred to other districts. In 1881 the population of the three townships

which had been transferred to Thôngwa in 1875 amounted to 153,237. The total population included within the limits of the original district excluding Bawni, Kawliah and Thônzê circles is shown below:—

	Population in 1881.
Hanthawaddy district	427,720
Rangoon Town	134,176
Pyapôn, Yandoon and Thôngwa townships ...	153,237
Total ...	715,133

The population of the part assigned to Pegu in 1883 amounted in 1881 to 128,625, so that that of the Hanthawaddy district as it existed just before the partition of 1912 was about 300,000 in 1881. That of the present Syriam district was about 205,000 in 1881 as may be seen by adding the figures for the townships of Angyi and Syriam given in the Census Report of that year.

he Censuses of 891, 901 and 911.

Censuses were held in 1891, 1901 and 1911, but in 1883 the Paunglin and Hlègu townships were removed from Hanthawaddy and given to Pegu district, and in 1895 Kyauktan subdivision was given back to Hanthawaddy. Rangoon town was enlarged at the expense of Hanthawaddy in the same year.

Sufficiently accurate figures are obtainable from the Census Reports of 1891, 1901 and 1911 to show the changes in population of Hanthawaddy district as it existed just before the partition of 1912 and of the present Syriam district:—

	1872.	1881.	1891.	1901.	1911.
Hanthawaddy district	186,967	296,026	395,131	474,262	539,109
Syriam district ...	—	204,940	262,556	307,564	332,568

There has thus been a great increase which is especially marked in the period 1881—1901 when waste land was rapidly being brought under cultivation. There is very little waste left now and the population is not therefore likely to increase much more unless a new industry springs up.

stribution by e.

Without further analysis the rapid rate of increase indicates but fails to elucidate the artificial nature of social conditions in Syriam district at the present day; the statistics showing the distribution of the inhabitants according to their age afford more definite information. Normally there should be a close correspondence

(1) See page 1.

between the male and female population at all ages. In Hanthawaddy this is not the case. In 1872 there is already noticeable a preponderance of males between the ages 20 and 40, though this is discounted by the existence of a slight excess in every age-period. It is significant, however, that already, within three years of the opening of the Suez Canal (1869), the town of Rangoon for which, although still contained in the Hanthawaddy district, separate figures were recorded, had already been swept into the vortex of economic change. Ten years later, as shown in Chapter IV, the agricultural revolution was complete in all essentials, and by that time the distribution of the inhabitants of the district over age-periods differed radically from that observable in 1872 and closely resembled that existing at the present day. These changes are illustrated in the subjoined table, but the census figures receive additional significance when it is noticed that there is no longer a general preponderance of males in every period of life but that between the ages of 0 and 5 and 5 and 10 females are in excess.

Population between 20 *and* 40 *years of age.*

—	Males.	Females.	Excess of males.
1	2	3	4
1872 Rangoon Town ...	30,319	12,632	17,687
1872 District	53,455	48,790	4,665
1881 District	87,735	52,830	34,905
1891 District	50,522	36,374	14,148*
1901 District	99,842	68,808	31,034
1911 District	109,625	75,888	33,737

The district figures in this table are in all cases exclusive of Rangoon Town.

The natives proper to Syriam district are Talaings and Karens. Long before the British occupation many Burmans and Shans had been established there as colonists or

Races, Tribes and Castes.

* These figures are for the ages 20—39; the decrease is also due to changes in boundary, these figures being for the Hanthawaddy district as it existed—not in 1891, but immediately after the partition of 1883.

voluntarily taken up their residence. From the middle of the sixteenth century the fame of Syriam had attracted merchants of all nations, but these rarely penetrated into the interior and left little mark on the population of the locality. In the neighbourhood of Syriam itself there were, however, Christians of mixed blood found by the early missionaries at the beginning of the eighteenth century. These were presumably descended from followers of De Brito, "Nga Zin Ga" of the Burmans, who had established a principality in Syriam in 1600[1] Even to this day there are still Mahomedan colonies in Syriam and the surrounding village who derive from the same period.

The founding of Rangoon attracted more adventurers—Europeans, Jews, Armenians and Mahomedans. As a result also of the Burman occupation the Talaing population decreased; in 1772, 1791, 1814 and 1824 there were Talaing rebellions followed by massacre and emigration, while the Burman population continued to increase It was at this period apparently that some of the Shan colonies were settled. The Shans of the Yun circle of Syriam allege that they were brought there from Siam by Alaung Paya. Even now they refuse to accord him his royal title and talk of him as "Maung Aungzeya."

Since the British occupation by far the largest increase is due to immigrants from Upper Burma. More noticeable, however, in some respects is the influx of Chinese and Hindus, the former mostly from the Straits and the latter from Madras. There had also been a stimulus to Shan immigration owing to special measures to attract them being taken in the days of the Company and when the administration was first taken over by the Crown.

Language.

Except the Talaings, the ordinary inhabitants, each race retains to some extent its mother tongue. Burmese, however, is the "lingua franca" all over the district, and it is only where the Madrasi population is most closely settled that there is serious difficulty in finding people who understand the language of the country. This was not the case in Burmese times when each community kept to itself and maintained its own speech and customs. Shans and Karens for the most part were cultivators on the uplands. Talaings employed themselves with fishing, salt-boiling and pot-making in the plains.

It was the Burman policy, however, to extirpate the speech and the national traditions of the Talaings. The

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[1] See Chapter II.

impartiality of British rule has completed the process and now even the oldest Talaings can remember nothing of their language but the abusive terms with which their grandmothers corrected them when children.

Distribution of races.

There is little information concerning the present-day distribution of the indigenous races, nor is there great interest in attempting to follow it in detail. The census for 1901 gives but little help in this respect, as the indigenes are there distributed according to the language ordinarily spoken, and the majority of the Shans and Karens are rapidly forgetting, as the Talaings have forgotten, their native speech. Such figures as are available for isolated circles in 1872 show that there was a preponderance of Karens where there was old established cultivation, for instance in Indapura, Kodaung Kawhmu and Pyawbwè, but the rapidly succeeding changes have obliterated almost all the traces of such connection.[1] In the Kyauktan subdivision, the typically deltaic portion of the district, where in some respects the modern agricultural economy is most firmly established there are practically none who speak either Karen or Shan.

The total population in 1901 of the townships now in the Syriam district with the number of people ordinarily speaking English, Burmese, Karen or Shan and the number of Mussalmans and Hindus are shown in the following table :—

Townships.	Total.	English.	Burman.	Karen.	Shan.	Mussalman.	Hindu.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Twante ...	85,441	35	61,195	8,280	1,295	2,857	11,449
Kungyangôn ...	71,017	8	56,138	8,193	1,349	3,158	2,536
Kyauktan ..	81,178	15	70,503	7	38	1,042	8,578
Thabyega ...	69,928	50	60,613	194	107	1,486	7,457

NOTE.—These figures are taken from the census of 1901, at which date the Thôngwa township had not been formed out of those of Kyauktan and Thabyegan.

Indians.

The influx of Indian traders and still more of Indian labour is so closely interwoven with the economic change that it is essential to trace it in some little detail. In the early sixties there are requent references to immigration, but the new arrivals are from Upper

[1] See Chapter XIV and British Burma Gazetteer, Vol. II.

Burma, and in 1868 the Gazetteer of Rangoon district makes no mention of immigrants from India. In 1869 there is, however, an analysis of the population of the Rangoon district which is confirmed by the census three years later as approximately accurate. For that and succeeding years the alien population exclusive of Indian Christians is shown in the following table, but it must be remembered that the district at that time included Rangoon town:—

Year.	Total Population.	Hindus.	Mahomedans.	Total of Hindu and Mahomedan.
1	2	3	4	5
1869 ...	350,312	9,040	4,425	13,465
1870 ...	373,078	7,164	6,775	13,939
1871 ...	387,812	4,814	7,578	12,392
1872 ...	428,332	4,520	9,279	13,799
1873 ...	416,413	4,061	11,819	15,880
1874 ...	356,861	5,737	11,671	17,408

The decrease in Hindus and the increase in Mahomedans are noticeable; it is possible that this represents the actual course of affairs, the influx of Mahomedan traders preceding the importation of Madrasi coolies as labourers in the rice mills. But the total of both religions remains so constant that it is not easy to refrain from the suspicion that headmen in early days exercised no meticulous care in distinguishing between various kinds of "kalas" (foreigners). The rise of 25 per cent. in the number of Hindus between 1873 and 1874, closely following as it does upon a large increase in the number of rice-mills, indicates perhaps that the slur on the *thugyis* is undeserved.

Since 1872 there has been a large increase in the number of foreigners as is shown by the following table which in spite of a slight changes of boundary is very nearly accurate. There were 518 Mahomedans and 934 Hindus in the old Hanthawaddy district in 1872.

Population of the present Syriam District in

Year.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Buddhist.	Animist.	Mahomedan.	Hindu.	Christian.	Others.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1881 ...	204,940	116,292	88,648	199,186	10	2,166	2,482	1,094	2
1891 ...	262,556	147,384	115,172	246,367	851	4,347	9,399	1,437	55
1901 ...	307,564	172,223	135,311	265,339	1,625	8,543	30,020	2,017	20
1911 ...	332,568	185,331	147,237	274,527	2,728	10,725	40,690	3,697	201

The population of Hanthawaddy district as it existed just before the partition of 1912 is shown distributed by races, language, literacy and townships in Volume B, and the proportion of literates in 1901 is shown in Table XXIV of the same volume. As is usual in most districts of Burma the standard of education is much higher among the males than the females.

Prior to the advent of the British the population for many years had been rapidly diminishing. Since the conquest by Alaung Paya in 1756 there had been four Talaing rebellions * besides smaller risings and wholesale emigration had followed on the failure of each attempt. There were however a few Shan and Burman immigrants who settled in the district. With the British occupation emigration gave place to immigration. The movement was comparatively slow at first and the exemption from taxation held out as an inducement largely ineffective. Crowds of Burmans flocked over for the harvest but they did not settle. In the sixties it is reported that no great increase can be looked for. But the increase in capitation tax and the returns of population can scarcely have been wholly due to increasing accuracy, and from these may be gathered that people from all parts of Burma and later on from India were gathering in greater numbers year by year in the Hanthawaddy district in search of gain. At the census of 1901 there were representatives within the district of people from nine places beyond the limits of Asia, from six places in Asia outside India, from sixteen major divisions of India, and from all the districts in Burma except

Karenni. The Burman districts most largely represented with the approximate number of immigrants from each are shown below :—

Persons born in other districts who were living in Hanthawaddy District in 1901 *and* 1911.

District.	1901.	1911.
Tharrawaddy	9,889	7,037
Pegu	...	2,786
Prome	...	4,[illegible]85
Ma-ubin	...	3,058
Mandalay	9,038	4,397
Shwebo	9,024	5,399
Myingyan	6,782	3,550
Lower Chindwin	5,705	3,377
Pakôkku	5,276	3,416
Magwe	4,563	2,003
Minbu	4,526	2,804
Sagaing	3,957	2,766
Meiktila	3,472	1,906
Shan States	3,182	2,793

The falling-off of immigration into the district from other parts of Burma since the beginning of the century is remarkable.

Subsequently to the annexation there can have been little emigration after the country had ceased to be disturbed. Of recent years, however, it has become a noticeable feature as cultivators have been forced to go to other districts by the pressure on the land. In 1901 there were 16,663 residents of Thôngwa district and 9,552 of Pegu district who had been born in the Hanthawaddy district.

The persons who had been born in Hanthawaddy district and were enumerated in 1901 and 1911 in some of the other districts are shown below :—

Province.	District.	1901.	1911.
Lower Burma ...	Rangoon City ...	3,224	4,266
	Pegu ...	9,552	8,503
	Ma-ubin ...	6,663	1,526
	Pyapôn ...		12,171
Upper Burma ...	Shwebo ...	84	521
	Myingyan .	18	455

The emigration to other districts is unimportant. It is clear that the large emigration into Thôngwa (now the Ma-ubin and Pyapôn districts) has been maintained.

Statistics of emigration and immigration taken from the census of 1911 for the Hantnawaddy district as it existed just before the partition of 1912 are shown in Volume B. They show that there is still a large influx of Indians and a considerable exodus of Burmans to other districts. Social Organisation.

With a district thus built up in the course of a few years out of a population of various people hailing from various localities it is difficult to grasp and more difficult to summarise succinctly the social organisation. The abiding impression is a state of flux. Villages and villagers alike are eloquent of impermanence. There are signs of decrepitude but not of age, and youth holds out no promise of enduring strength. The outstanding feature is that the village, except the village that is almost a town, is an artificial unit. The skeleton of the organisation is analogous to that of an English country district. There is the small town with its dependent hamlets. Whereas the country town in England stands by itself dominating the country side, in Syriam District it often, perhaps ordinarily, consists of two or three adjacent large villages. This small town numbering 1,000 to 3,000 inhabitants will be situated at a trading centre with convenient access to Rangoon, or possibly to another similar town of larger size. But there are important differences from an English country district in the living body apart from the merely skeleton structure. There is no purely landed interest. A few of the residents may own land but they tend to be petty commercial magnates. In the Settlement Report for 1897-98 it is noted[1] that the Burman money-lender takes his rent in

[1] Settlement Report, 1897-98, paras 41, 43. See Chapter IV.

kind because he is usually also a trader in rice. Such land as they own has perhaps in the majority of the cases been obtained in the course of their business transactions and is not necessarily in the immediate vicinity of their residence, while much of the land in the actual neighbourhood may be owned by people in other small towns or else resident in Rangoon. Then, again, rich and poor alike, it is to a large extent a floating population. All trace of wealthy and comparatively long established families may be lost within ten years; they will have fallen into the ruck of undistinguished individuals. Others meanwhile will have risen into prominence. Some of the better-off may have resided in the village for some time, but there are indications that people move into big villages as they increase in substance. Possibly one or two of them have come down from Rangoon or more probably they maintain a double establishment. But those who live there may at any time move into Rangoon and there is no doubt of a great tendency for people to do so who are in a position to afford it. The shop-keepers supply an element of permanence, but of these nearly half are Chinamen and it is no uncommon thing to find that there are more owners of a shop than one and that they are thus enabled to spend part of their time in China; in some cases the shops are branches or agencies of Rangoon houses, and then although the shop remains, just as the village does, the shop-keepers move on. The tenants, who do not differ greatly from the labourers, may any year go ten miles in search of land and the bulk of the people, the field hands, find employment over a considerable area. Among all classes there are differences of race and religion. Some of the land owners will be Burmans, some Mahomedans and some Hindus, and in almost any of these small towns the leading Chinamen will have some fifty acres of and. The same four classes are represented among the petty trading interest and tenants and labourers are divided into Burmans and Madrasis. In the villages and hamlets grouped round these small towns the same conditions are presented. But here the village itself may bear the traces of impermanence. The cultivation [1] seems to have spread out from the hill sides with the Karens or the salt-boiling centres of the Talaings, or entirely new land may have been opened up by men of various races; all these villages and hamlets have been competitors for ultimate importance, and while the smaller ones have left no trace of their existence

[1] See Chapter IV.

the larger still give evidence of gradual decay. Especially of recent years there has been another factor making for the decline of once important villages. The modern organisation of agriculture does not require so large a number of permanent residents in the neighbourhood of the land as was necessary under more primitive conditions. Where this factor has been combined with the substitution of Indian for Burman labour it has acted more patently, as the former live closer than the latter, and in some cases a few huts may represent the site of a once substantial village. It does not follow, however, that all the dependent villages differ very much from the small town as regards the number of inhabitants; two or three villages within the same social unit will be of nearly equal size and in many instances it is hard to distinguish which among them is the more important. But in either case whether there is one small town outstanding in predominance or whether it is replaced by two or three villages the social organisation is a plexus of villages and hamlets.

The test of social organisation is the existence of common interests and common action. It is only within such a plexus that common interests exist. The renting of land, the loan of money, the employment of labour and the purchase of the crops are all diffused over such an unit; the leading people will find their intimate associates rather among their equals of other villages within the unit than among the subordinate members of their own village. Where the predominant constituent of the unit is a single small town the powerful interests are so few and of so similar a nature as to be in conflict. This in itself would be a bar to common social action, but the barrier is rendered more formidable by difference of race; and even where there is no difference of race the fact that they are comparatively recent immigrants from widely separated districts has a similar tendency in preventing community of feeling. But where there is common social action it is found that the whole of the single unit, the plexus of villages, is engaged; for instance there is a large bund in Kanyingôn circle which has been built by the joint effort of landholders from eight or nine villages and hamlets, and in developing some lands near Wabalaukthauk people from about five villages formed themselves into cognate societies to take part.

Mobility had always been characteristic of the Burman, and not least has it been evident in Hanthawaddy. The people will tell how a whole island was deserted on the

advent of a few officials hunting elephants. The district was depopulated by war, it has grown populous by industrial competition. In a few localities a certain stability has been attained, elsewhere social organisation is hardly yet existent.

While this description refers to the typically deltaic portions of the district which come to mind when Hanthawaddy is mentioned, it is by no means true of the hilly tracts which are also the longer settled. In these there still appear to be traces of the older Burman village with a certain degree of economic independence of its neighbours.

Towns and Villages. When the Burman can afford it he lives in a large village or a town where he enjoys the amenities of social life, perhaps can educate his children without losing hold upon them, possibly can go dry-footed in the rains, and at any rate, he considers, will keep his life and property safer. Thus there are towns and villages in the tract numbering more than a thousand people. One of the smaller towns may be taken as a type: here there is a circle headman collecting land revenue, a recent importation from another neighbourhood, a village headman, who is a rice broker connected with a leading Rangoon firm, and four money-lenders who are also land owners and do some trade in rice. Besides these there is only one man in the village, also a land owner, who regularly stores sufficient food grain for the year; there are however four or five people who own a certain amount of land. There are about ten people who annually work land as tenants; there are two shops kept by Chinamen; two kept by natives of India who are Mahomedans; one on a much smaller scale kept by a Burman; a school; two jewellers and a blacksmith, who are all Burmans; eight to ten boatmen, who are Burmans and natives of India; two monasteries; and the rest of the people are field coolies. The total population including women and children was 1,076 in 1901. The most prominent buildings in the village are the granaries belonging to a Rangoon land owner, rice-trader and money-lender; the monasteries are fairly substantial and a few of the villagers inhabit handsome houses. This village is fairly respresentative. The jewellers and blacksmiths would not invariably be found in places of this size, but a dyer using German stamps and German dyes might be expected. A washerman and a barber will pay periodic visits or may be resident, the former being sometimes found in much smaller villages, but only as a rule where there is a considerable Indian population.

The well-established village may consist of comfortable houses set round with palm trees, or of huts, hidden among plantations of elephant bamboos down a *kondan* hillside, or of a cluster of naked dwellings in some converted salt marsh. Beside them or at some little distance off will be the mud buildings of Madrasi coolies, level with the ground and impervious both to light and air. In the villages which have retained their prosperity from early days brick monasteries can be found and bridges covered with ornamental stucco by Indian labour which in this item, although more expensive, is better than Burman and brick paths and carved resthouses are more general. Considering the favourable climate and the Burman appreciation of shade and fruit and flowers there are not many trees, but this is accounted for by the shifting population. Shade may often be found in older villages if the soil is free enough of salt for trees to grow. Villages are closely set, rarely much more than a mile apart; here again, however, exception must be made to some extent in the earliest settled parts now subject to decline and even more so in those parts most recently brought under cultivation, where modern conditions have proved effective from the outset. Natives of India might inhabit a different type of hamlet resembling the home buildings on an agricultural estate. There will be a large building where the owner may possibly reside in person, but more probably it will be allotted to one or more of his wives, with room also for his factor and some of his coolies. Round this will be the huts of the permanent labourers, the cattle shed, a long low building with roof and partitions of dried thatch, mangers and troughs. In a separate building will be kept his ploughs, carts and other implements. The granary probably forms part of the main building. There will be one or more tanks and after a few years there will be shade trees, while the whole is often surrounded by a hedge. Such places sometimes have a picturesque appearance from a little distance but will not repay close inspection.

As might be expected from the foregoing account there Hous is a great variation in the type of houses to be found. The best are substantial, cool and airy buildings made of brick and faced with ornamental stucco. The doors made of carved timber are thick and heavy so as to resist attack and the windows are closely barred with iron. These are inhabited by Talaings who made their fortunes in the early days, or by immigrant Burmans who came south before or just after the annexation; of recent years few such houses have been built.

Probably the majority date between 1885 and 1895, when the inhabitants of the district, taking it as a whole, seem to have reached the highest point of their prosperity. At the other extreme is the cooly with a large family crowded into a thatch and bamboo residence smaller than the adjacent pigsty of some wealthy Chinaman. Between these is a long graduated series of buildings built in metal, timber, bamboo, thatch or palm leaf. The best timber houses in most cases have roofs of corrugated iron, often painted red, and rising tier in tier after the Chinese pagoda fashion of Burman architecture. In some instances, however, thatch, although inflammable, finds preference for its greater coolness. The cost of every kind of building is increasing as materials become more scarce, and even people comparatively well-to-do may have to use the stem of the marsh palm (*thinbaung*; Datea Lacustris) for their houseposts. Thirty years ago "madama" was used, but this costs at present one rupee a post, and even at that rate is not easily obtained. Not a few of the houses of the middle classes are made wholly or in part from the sides of kerosine oil tins pieced together.

rni-re.

Furniture varies with the style of the house. In some villages even in the monasteries there are no chairs or tables; in isolated cases it is possible to come across European furniture, cheval-glasses, tables, hat stands, bought in Rangoon a little while ago and already warped and mouldered. A mat or two and a few cooking pots still constitute the full equipment of the household in most families, but land owners and traders will in general possess a table, one or two chairs of a peculiarly rigid and uncomfortable type and at least one gaily coloured carpet.

Advertisements, cheap German prints, and the portraits given away with inexpensive cigarettes will usually be found stuck about any house where the owner has a taste for art, but the designs set round with cabalistic figures bought to ensure good fortune also serve to fill up wall space. A library of dog-eared, tattered volumes of plays, bought, begged or borrowed, may be found in some dusty corner of all but the poorer houses, and among them, if there are marriageable youths of either sex about the place, will be volumes of love letters. The richer and more respectable will have other books, well printed and well bound, but usually neglected, such as standard works on history and religion. It is not impossible to find English books bought at some auction by the dozen for the enhancement of personal dignity. These are never read. In one

such collection were Zola's "Paris" and a treatise on "The Art of Living." A small library of law books adds weight to the decisions of a headman or the opinion of a village elder.

The gardens are perhaps the most noticeable feature in the external social surroundings of the inhabitants of the district. It is not everywhere that it is possible to make a garden, but there will be a few pot plants to show goodwill, and even where the ground is under water during a large part of the year there may be a kerosine oil tin with a stunted rose plant hanging from the roof. Under favourable circumstances the gardens are very beautiful as when a hedgerow of hibiscus, dotted with dark red flowers, leaves an opening for a passage covered arbour-like with pink New Zealand creeper. **Gardens.**

Inside the compound may be *cannas* (*Buddha Thirana*) or the "maiden's earring" (*kyauksein nagat*) with white flowers set in pink; chrysanthemums are often grown in pots, and sometimes balsams. Various species of sunflowers may be found; in some villages on the ridge the rugged chrysanthemum (*Mawlamyaing Ban*) lines the village path throughout its length. Among the flowering trees are *Paukseinbyu*, with leaves that make goods alad, the sweet-scented *Hnanlôngyaing*, *padauk* and the Chinese *champak* (*Talôk Saga*) erroneously called *frangipani*. The large white roselle (*chinbaung*) although grown mostly for culinary purposes is pleasant to look upon, and yellow flowering gourds disguise the nakedness of many of the poorer houses. For shade there are the mango and the tamarind.

The dress of the people resembles that in other parts of Lower Burma, the only peculiarity being that there is probably even less homespun clothing than in districts less adjacent to Rangoon. Already in 1880 weaving was practically confined to the Karens inhabiting the Ridge, but now there is hardly a loom to be found throughout the district. In the larger villages, however, there are dyers who print fresh patterns on old turbans and turn them out again apparently as good as new. This indicates that more economy is exercised in clothing than would be gathered from a casual inspection of the crowd at some pagoda festival. The Settlement Officer in 1880[1] remarked that "men wear a *putso*, jacket and turban; women a *tamein*. jacket and generally carry a handkerchief" and estimated **Dress.**

(1) Settlement Report, 1879-80.

that the necessary clothing for a family of five would cost as follows:—

For three years' use.

	Rs.	A.	P.
One silk *putso* (kilt and plaid) ...	12	0	0
One silk *tamein* (woman's skirt) ...	18	0	0
One small silk *putso*	2	0	0
One small silk *tamein*	2	0	0
Two blankets	16	0	0
	50	0	0

For one year's use.

One cotton *putso*	1	8	0
One cotton *tamein*	2	0	0
Four jackets	2	0	0
One cotton blanket	2	0	0
One woman's handkerchief ...	4	0	0
One turban	4	0	0
	15	8	0

Shoes and umbrellas were estimated at Rs. 5. This would bring the annual expenditure on dress for such a family to nearly Rs. 40.

In those times the distribution of wealth was still comparatively equable; now it would be impossible to prepare any single list which could be regarded as at all representative. There are some items, however, which, in any modern list, would differ from those given above. The cotton *patso* would be replaced by a *longyi* (kilt). The turban and handkerchief which then cost Rs. 4 a piece would now cost Rs. 1-4-0, and probably article by article the modern representative so far as it was comparable with that given in the list would prove less expensive; it would be cheaper but of inferior quality.

The native of India dresses apparently much the same as elsewhere. The readiness with which he takes to Burman attire, to some extent as regards headdress, and more particularly as regards the *longyi*, is perhaps peculiarly noticeable in Syriam district.

The main article of food is rice, but probably most of the rice consumed is purchased. *Bawyut*, *midon* and *kamachi* are the favourite varieties ; for *ngasein* however, which is exported, there is the largest market and so it is mostly grown. Certain localities are better suited for the varieties favoured by the Burman, and the milling of these is a separate industry mostly in the hands of Indian and Chinese merchants. The richer folk therefore usually purchase their rice for choice, the others largely from compulsion. Comparatively little of the rice comsumed is ground at home, and the large pounder worked with the foot rarely seen. As the fisheries of Syriam district are unimportant most of the *ngapi* (fish-paste) and fish consumed come from other districts. Apparently the cheapest variety is *damin ngapi* made of prawns and costing not more than Rs. 14 a hundred viss. Another variety rather cheaper than that ordinarily consumed is called *ngapyinthalet* and costs Rs. 25. The price usually paid for better qualities is Rs. 30 to Rs. 45 ; for this *thon-u-sat* may be obtained, a mixture of three of the better kinds of fish, and usually containing *ngayan* and *ngabyema*, which are also made up separately at about the same price. *Kakadit* is another superior variety costing from Rs. 45 to Rs. 50; this also is sometimes included in *thon-u-sat*. If there is much *ngayan* or *kakadit* in the *ngapi* the price is correspondingly high. The larger the fish, the better the quality of the *ngapi*. Thus *kakadit ngapi* may cost Rs. 45 per 100 viss if large fish are employed and Rs. 35 if small. Some of the most expensive varieties are *ngaku* which fetches Rs. 75 and *kagyo* which is sold retail at Rs. 100 ; the wholesale price, however, is considerably lower. It is worth mention that the *ka* which in some terms replaces *nga* is the Talaing word for "fish." The poorer folk consume *nganbyaye*, a decoction of the liquid strained off during the manufacture of *ngapi* ; and even the more wealthy purchase both varieties. Thus a family of five people may purchase for their annual supply 85 viss of *thon-u-sat ngapi* at Rs. 35 and 30 viss of *rganbyabe* at Rs. 15 ; a tenant with a larger family will only purchase 25 viss of rather poorer *ngapi* at Rs. 30 and 50 viss of *nganbyaye* at Rs. 15. *Nganbyaye* is less sustaining than *ngapi*, and although much cheaper a much larger quantity must be purchased. The *nganbyaye* comes mostly from Yandoon and Pantanaw ; *ngpai* from Dedayé, Kyaiklat and Pyapôn. Other articles of food vary so much in price from place to place and in the quantity and quality

Food and fuel.

comsumed from family to family that it is impossible to give an account of them. There are indications that prior to the settlement of 1880 there had been a large rise in prices, but that there has not been much increase since then; more people however have to purchase more articles of food than was formerly the case. Fish, vegetables and meat did not have to be paid for in most villages, but they must all be purchased now. It is the exception now for any one to cut his own fuel, as the distance to be travelled is too great and implies the possession of a boat. This is brought, largely from the neighbourhood of Bogalé in Ma-ubin district, in cargo boats and sampans and a family will annually purchase four to six fathoms at about Rs. 5 a fathom.

Prices. It is not easy to discover the fluctuations of prices either before or after the British occupation; nor can the figures be used with great assurance when they have been obtained. The outstanding feature is that food used to be plentiful and free and now it is some ways more plentiful, but it has to be purchased. In the annual administration reports—except for rice which from its importance occupies a position by itself in ascertaining the general cost of living—there are only five entries occurring with sufficient constancy to be of value, which can help to throw light upon the domestic economy of the cultivator, *viz.*, country cotton, raw sugar, salt, tobacco and iron. The variety is unspecified and there are astonishing fluctuations; sugar for instance rises from Rs. 8 to Rs. 16 per maund in two consecutive years, tobacco from Rs. 12-11-0 to Rs. 17-5-0 and back to Rs. 12-3-0 in three consecutive years; other figures in the same table throw great doubt upon its reliability; the produce per acre of rice land in Syriam for instance varying from 1,344 lbs. in 1870 to 2,152 in 1871 and 1,680 in 1872. Other items appear from year to year; in 1869 the returns include the price of chillies, betel nuts and betel leaf, but in after years they are not mentioned; for a few years from 1872 onwards the prices of sessamum and cocoanut oil are given.

There is scattered information about prices in Cox's Journal, and in the British Burma Gazetteer; but Syriam is peculiarly fortunate in possessing among its records a statement of prices between 1868 and 1881 prepared by Captain Parrott. This bears internal evidence of accuracy, although the source from which it was obtained is not quite clear. The following abstract shows the lowest and highest prices for the first year on record, and at

[1] Settlement Report, 1879-80. Statement XII.

subsequent decennial intervals from 1850 till 1880, and the average prices in 1908 :—

Article.	Quantity.	Rate.	1848.	1850.	1860.	1870.	1880.	Average, 1908.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
			Rs. A.	Rs. A.	Rs. A.	Rs. A.	Rs. A.	Rs. A. P.
Unhusked Rice ...	100 baskets	Lowest	10 0	10 0	40 0	45 0	70 0	144 0 0
		Highest	10 0	20 0	55 0	65 0	100 0	
Husked Rice ...	100 baskets	Lowest	50 0	37 8	200 0	200 0	300 0	390 0 0
		Highest	62 8	62 8	350 0	300 0	300 0	
Fish-paste (Ngapi-daung).	100 viss ...	Lowest	6 4	7 8	20 0	30 0	30 0	...
		Highest	7 8	10 0	30 0	40 0	50 0	
Fish-paste (Seinsa).	100 viss ...	Lowest	12 8	15 0	31 4	37 8	50 0	60 0 0
		Highest	12 8	31 4	50 0	50 0	75 0	
Salt	1 viss ...	Lowest	0 ½	0 1	0 1	0 1	0 1	0 1 7
		Highest	0 2	0 2	0 2	0 2	0 2	
Oil	1 viss ...	Lowest	0 ½	0 4	0 10	0 10	0 12	1 1 7
		Highest	0 8	0 6	1 0	1 0	1 0	
Fish (dried) ...	1 viss ...	Lowest	0 4	0 4	0 12	0 12	0 12	1 2 0
		Highest	0 8	0 6	1 0	1 4	1 4	
Fish (smoked) ...	1 viss ...	Lowest	0 8	0 8	1 0	1 0	1 0	...
		Highest	0 12	0 12	1 4	1 8	1 8	
Fish (raw) ...	1 viss ...	Lowest	0 1	0 1	0 8	0 10	0 10	0 10 2
		Highest	0 2	0 2	1 0	1 0	1 4	
Chillies ...	1 viss ...	Lowest	0 1	0 1	0 6	0 4	0 6	0 10 7
		Highest	0 2	0 4	0 12	0 10	0 8	
Onions ...	1 viss ...	Lowest	0 1	0 1	0 6	0 5	0 6	0 8 2
		Highest	0 2	0 2	0 8	0 8	0 10	
Betel leaf ...	1 viss ...	Lowest	0 1	0 1	0 6	0 6	0 6	0 11 4
		Highest	0 2	0 4	0 8	0 8	0 12	
Betelnut ...	1 viss ...	Lowest	0 8	0 8	0 12	0 10	0 8	0 14 9
		Highest	0 10	0 12	1 0	1 0	1 0	
Tobacco (Burmese).	1 viss ...	Lowest	0 2	0 2	0 5	0 6	0 6	0 9 2
		Highest	0 4	0 6	0 8	0 10	0 12	
Tobacco (Indian)	1 viss ...	Lowest	0 8	0 6	0 8	0 8	0 8	...
		Highest	0 10	0 8	0 10	0 12	0 12	
Tobacco stalk ...	1 basket ...	Lowest	0 4	0 4	1 0	1 0	1 4	2 1 7
		Highest	0 8	0 10	2 0	2 0	2 8	
Hpet (leaf to cover cheroots).	1,000 leaves	Lowest	1 0	0 8	1 4	1 4	1 4	1 0 4
		Highest	1 4	0 12	2 0	2 0	2 0	
Jaggery ...	1 viss ...	Lowest	0 2	0 2	0 6	0 5	0 6	0 8 0
		Highest	0 4	0 4	0 8	0 10	0 10	
Earth oil ...	1 viss ...	Lowest	0 1	0 1	0 6	0 6	0 6	0 2 7
		Highest	0 2	0 2	0 7	0 7	0 7	

A list of prices prevailing in 1908 will be found in Mr. Arbuthnot's Settlement Report for 1907—10, page 101 and it is from that list that the last column of this table has' been obtained.

After 1880 there is no information as regards prices except that given in the annual administration reports. But a comparison may be obtained by considering the detailed statements given concerning 12 families in the report of Captain Parrott[1] in juxtaposition with the statistics given in the settlement report of 1907—10.

It will be observed that there appears to have been little, if any, rise of price in articles of food and stimulants; the price of the fish-paste generally consumed seems to have fallen. This is probably due to the development of the Pyapôn fisheries. Apart from rice this is the heaviest item in the annual budget and so it would appear that expenditure on food other than rice has fallen, but no doubt much has to be bought now-a-days that used to be obtained fruit in the jungle, such as vegetables, fruit, fuel, etc.

An estimate made in 1879 of the cost of clothing has been given in Chapter III; so far as it goes it seems to confirm the probability that articles of daily wear are less expensive now, and it is a matter of common knowledge that clothing imported from Great Britain, Germany and Japan have been ousting home products on account of its cheapness.

Wages. The only information concerning wages other than agricultural appears in the annual administration reports, but they are of little value. Scattered details are obtainable with regard to various employments in various years, but these have never been collected. Generally speaking it may be said that Burmans are engaged in agricultural or in the transport of agricultural products; there is a certain proportion engaged in skilled pursuits, but such people are for the most part of the nature of apprentices; there are some who engage in unskilled operations not connected with agriculture, such as road mending, but they are few; in the various factories they find no employment except in the candle department of the oil factories. The Indians who work in the factories have for the most part no opportunity of engaging in agriculture; such operations as they take part in are earth-work and reaping. There is therefore practically no competition between agricultural and non-agricultural labour. As has been shown in Chapter IV agricultural wages have fallen; but it does not therefore follow that non-agricultural wages have also fallen. The importation of Indians during the seventies was effected with the intention of reducing the cost of labour, but it is noted that no effect seemed to have been produced on

[1]Statement No. XI, Settlement Report, 1879-80.

wages. With the increase of unskilled labour indicated in the returns of population it is probable that wages have fallen in non-agricultural as well as in agricultural operations, but this is uncertain.

Where other industries compete with agriculture the effect is to reduce agricultural wages. Thus at Tamanaing, where the labourers can find occupation in the off-seasons of agriculture by working in the salt factories, the wages of agriculture are lower than in any other part of the district. Between ploughing and harvest there is no occupation open to field labourers over almost the whole of the district, natural conditions preventing free movement at that period of the year; the agricultural wage has therefore to be such as will maintain them during this idle period. A few rates of wages are given in Volume B, Part I, and more information will be found in Chapter IV (Agriculture).

Cost of Living. The cost of living has never been easy to determine. At the present time, when one person may own several thousand acres, and another will have no property but the clothes he wears, great allowance must be made for variation on either side of any given standard. Colonel Parrott in his Settlement Report for 1880 81 gives an estimate of the quantity of certain articles consumed per month by the ordinary cultivator and their value at that time. They represent the more important articles of food, and such as are used in betel chewing and tobacco smoking:—

Article.	Quantity.	Value.		
1	2	3		
		Rs.	A.	P.
Rice	1 basket	2	8	0
Dried fish	1 viss	0	14	0
Fish-paste	½ viss	0	6	4
Oil	¼ viss	0	3	0
Salt	¼ viss	0	0	9
Chillies	¼ viss	0	2	0
Onions	¼ viss	0	1	7
Tamarind	¼ viss	0	1	9
Turmeric	5 ticals	0	0	9
Betel leaf	½ viss	0	3	0
Betel nut	¼ viss	0	5	0
Lime	10 ticals	0	0	3
Cutch	2 ticals	0	0	3
Tobacco	½ viss	0	5	0
Hp t (cheroot covers)	100 leaves ...	0	2	7
se yo (chopped tobacco stalk.)	⅛ basket	0	3	0
	Total ...	5	9	3

The prices in this table are the mean of those given in about six hundred enquiriesi nto particular cases.[1] Calculating that the average family consists of three adults and three children he estimates the cost per family at Rs. 18·40 a month. In making this calculation he assumes that the cultivator converts his own rice and does not purchase it; this allows of a reduction against this heading of Re. 1; while he allows that three children are equivalent to one adult. The expenditure on dress has been discussed on page 49. For a family of five Captain Parrott estimates the expenditure on dress, blankets, shoes, umbrellas and rain-hats at about Rs. 40, while he allows Rs. 12-8-0 for thatch and other miscellaneous expenditure. For a family of six therefore he makes a further allowance of Rs. 7 per month for clothes and other expenditure. This would make the total expenditure for a family of six at that time apart from cost of cultivation very little less than Rs. 300 per annum.[2]

A rough estimate for a family of five people cultivating ten acres of land of their own allows Rs. 130 for food, Rs. 36 for clothes, Rs. 25 for thatching and Rs. 50 for miscellaneous items including betel chewing and tobacco smoking, pots and pans; a total of rather less than Rs. 250.[1] Such a family would be drawn from the poorer class of landowners, and the estimate allows only for the feeding of two adults; these considerations may in part account for the different estimates, but the difficulty of obtaining accurate information is more probably the cause. Having obtained a list of prices so far back as 1848 Captain Parrott was enabled to trace the rise of monthly expenditure upon those articles of food, and betel chewing and tobacco smoking included in his estimate:—

Monthly expenditure per head—

	1848.	1850.	1860.	1870.	1880.	1881.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
If rice purchased ...	1-7-3	1-8-3	5-8-4	5-8-2	5-4-6	5-9-9
If grown and converted	0-14-3	1-0-3	2-12-4	3-0-2	2-14-6	3-1-4

In articles other than rice there was a sudden increase in 1852 when Rs. 2 was reached and another in 1854 when they cost Rs. 2-6-0; from that year onwards there was a gradual increase until in 1868 they reached a maximum of Rs. 3-13-5; the expenditure on these articles then fell to

[1] Settlement Report, 1880-81, para. 84.
[2] Settlement Report, 1879-80, paras. 119, 120.
[1] B. B. G., Vol. II, page 551.

Rs. 3 a month in the course of the next two years, and with occasional exceptions, has remained steady at that figure. Since it is mainly on account of cheapness that imported articles have displaced those of native manufacture it is not improbable that so far as the articles which are purchased now and were also purchased in 1870 are concerned, there has been a fall in the cost of living. This, however, is more than counterbalanced by the cost of unhusked rice. From 1848 until 1851 it ranged from Rs. 10 to Rs. 20 per hundred baskets; in 1852 and 1853 the lowest rates were Rs. 25 and Rs. 35 and the highest Rs. 35 and Rs. 125; these high prices were the result of scarcity, consequent on the annexation, and there was a famine in the latter year. Thence until 1866 the lowest remained steady at Rs. 40 or Rs. 45 except in one year when it fell to Rs. 35 and in another year when it reached Rs. 65; the highest rate was steady about Rs. 65 but there were occasional variations, the price reaching Rs. 95 both in 1857 and 1862. In 1866 the lowest rate was Rs. 55 and the highest Rs. 90. It is from this date that the great rise begins. There are variations, chiefly dependent on the Indian harvest, but by 1880 the lowest rate is steady at Rs. 70 although the highest rate still varies greatly. From 1867 official export prices are available, and although these do not closely correspond with those given in Captain Parrott's table they exhibit the same general movement.[1] In the Revision Settlement of 1897 the average price was found to vary from Rs. 85 to Rs. 95 and for the last few years it has annually exceeded Rs. 100 and in 1912 and 1913 approximated to Rs. 150.[2]

Domestic Economy.

Where the family can afford it a supply of food is laid in twice a year; fish-paste, however, is only purchased once, when the trading boats come round at harvest or shortly after. People who are well enough off to purchase in bulk generally do so in Rangoon noce before labourers are hired for harvest, and once before the ploughing season; about fifty rupees or rather more is no unusual amount to be spent on each occasion. The moderately well-to-do only make one such journey and this will be before the ploughing season. This practice is not so general in the remoter areas, but here a local centre will be visited; among those within comparatively easy radius, two or three tides, it is probable that about half of those who own or rent land will come to Rangoon to make their purchases and that more

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[1] Settlement Report, 1880-81, Statements VI and XII.

[2] Settlement Report, 1897-98, Res., page 4.

than half of those who do so come in twice a year. Some owners, most tenants, and the labourers pay higher prices for inferior articles, buying retail at the village shop or dealing with pedlars. The shop has the advantage of greater facilities for credit and in giving greater choice of wares; probably it can afford to give truer measures, but where it would suit the purchaser to obtain his commodity in comparatively large quantities, the shopman often has sufficient guile to prevent his doing so. Many would prefer for instance to buy sessamum oil in bulk, but the shopman's stock is apt to be exhausted until the peasant has no more money left. Thus it is only possible to purchase retail and, for most of the year, on credit at high rates of interest. As a result of competition the pedlar being unable to cut prices has altered his measures and over a great part of the district the viss contains twelve *pyi* instead of sixteen.

Poverty.

With so many standards of living what is luxury for one man is poverty for another. The Madrasi cooly, who can eke out his wages by catching and eating rats, would think himself very fortunate if he received the portion of a Burman ploughman for three months. Some of the older notabilities who have founded villages and spent their lives in an atmosphere of respect are apt to find that the tradition of their dignity has outworn the actuality of their substance and these doubtless are put to shifts which signify genteel poverty. There is general complaint about the rise in price of food grain, especially among the older folk who are unable to earn a full man's wages. Even a man of forty or forty-five begins to find himself regarded with suspicion in the labour-market. It is improbable that as yet there is any scarcity over a prolonged period among any classes taken as a whole, but in some localities individuals find themselves stinted for a time. Especially in the villages charity and neighbourly borrowing avert any approach to actual want, but in the towns it is said, probably with some exaggeration, that coolies, both Burman and Indian, find themselves restricted to a single meal a day. Besides the physically infirm, the only professional beggars are so by hereditary occupation. It does not appear that the Rangoon colony of these tour round the district; those who are found mostly come from Henzada and Prome.

Religious life.

The religious life and attitude of the Burman and Talaing of Syriam district differ little from that found elsewhere, but where there is a difference it does not always seem like an improvement. There are very few Lower Burmans in the monasteries and most of

the monks have been attracted from Upper Burma by the prospect of good fare. Together with the Talaing language the Burmans destroyed the religious life of the Talaings so far as it was essentially Talaing. At the annexation of Pegu the latter seems to have struck observers as more superstitious than the Burman, and the suppression of Talaing monasteries may in part account for this. But the Burman immigrant, careless of local deities, like all adventurers would tend towards free thinking. The children of the better classes have been sent to receive their education in Rangoon and many of those less well off are taught in lay schools rather than in the monasteries. In the latter they may learn to acquire merit, but in the former they have more chance of learning to make money. The monks, being new-comers from distant parts, have had less influence and have also lost status from rendering less useful service, while the fluctuating population has been dominated by the conditions of material progress. These circumstances have all combined against the stability of the old religious life. Occasionally indications may be found of a recrudescence of more primitive religious sentiments. Organised village spirit-worship had gradually decayed, but it is possible to discover an instance where the village *nat* or deity has been reinstated in quite recent years, has a regular guardian and a set festival.

The tree worship, which long survived among Talaings and still to some extent continues, has now in some places become associated with the Indian immigrants and the harmless offerings of cocoanuts and rice have been replaced by barbaric ritual wherein the coolies call upon their god and propitate him with the sacrifice of goats. In the Settlement Report for 1881-82 there are some details of Talaing and Karen observances, but the record is so unscientific as to be of little value; an interesting custom still surviving in tradition, although inapplicable under present circumstances, is that of paying a fine when one man's field wholly or in part surrounds another's.

There are many Christian colonies, mostly Roman Catholic, both among Madrasis and Karens. A colony of Portuguese Catholics came to Burma with Philip de Britto in 1581 and settled in Syriam and missionaries were sent from time to time to Syriam by the Society of Jesus and the Society of Foreign Missions at Paris, and a Roman Catholic Mission was established by the Barnabites at Syriam in 1721. After enduring much difficulty and many dangers and in some cases martyrdom it came to an end in

1756 when the Bishop (Fr. Nerini) was executed by Alaung Paya on the ground that he had called the French to give help to the Talaings. The priests settled in Rangoon when Alaung Paya made this the chief town of Lower Burma, but missionary effort in the district itself was almost suspended until the occupation of Pegu in 1853. Missions were then once more established, first on the Twante Ridge and then on that of Syriam. The wealthiest Christians are Madrasis and in at least one instance land has been dedicated to the Virgin Mother of some town in Madras. Her name transliterated into Burmese as Wa La Chun or Wa La Chun Madhara appears as that of landholder in the district records.

The American Baptist Mission is also at work in the district.

Local Deities. The predominant local diety is *U Shin Gyi*, "lord of the brackish waters," also known as "lord of the country of rising and falling tide." These are titles of respect used to avoid the danger which would be incurred by using his proper name. He owns dominion so far as Vegin on the north and "the sweet waters of Dedayè" westward.

His legend is told thus:—

Me Pyu and Me Lu were sisters, living at Pegu; each bore a son; Po Aung, the son of Me Pyu, was older than his cousin, now known as Maung Shin Gyi. Me Pyu prospered in worldly wealth but she was proud and had an ungovernable temper. Me Lu, however, fell on evil times, and became a debtor to her sister, who treated her abominably. Even Po Aung found life unbearable by reason of his mother's anger. At length—there are still play-books which recount the story—these three, Me Lu, Po Aung and Maung Shin Gyi decided that they could not live with Me Pyu any longer and fled to Da-la. Not long afterwards a boat owner, Maung Po, came round asking for people to go with him and gather cane (*hmyaw*) in the jungles by the sea. Maung Po Aung volunteered, but another man was still wanted; and on Po Aung's persuasion he took Maung Shin Gyi, who, though a well favoured youth was over young for heavy work, so was left in the boat to cook their food. He was not only good-looking but was an accomplished youth and skilled in music, so that during his long hours of solitude he would console himself by playing on his lute. The guardian spirit of the island, a beautiful maiden, was attracted by the sound and came from the country of the spirits to listen to him daily. When they had loaded up the boat with cane they set off home, but magic spells prevented the boat from moving. Three times they drew lots to ascertain the cause of their misfortune and each time the trial indicated Maung Shin Gyi. So they left him on the island and he became a *nat*.

In the course of time, however, he has developed unpleasant idiosyncracies and his association with fear rather than affection or respect has strengthened vitality. He is particularly associated with snakes and other biting

or piercing harmful things and will speedily resent careless neglect of propitiation. "Pe sha ba" ("Please avert") is the formula for addressing him. It is expedient to make offering to him twice a year, once before ploughing and once about harvest time. It is noteworthy that a double offering is made on each occasion, two platters being filled each with a separate supply of rice and cocoanuts.

No rational explanation has yet been suggested. It is definitely asserted that he has no connection with agriculture, and despite the incidence of his festivals this appears to be the case. His connection with the snakes suggests reminiscence of snake worship. This is also apparent in the connected legend of "Apo," who holds subordinate charge on the Pyapôn side. There is suggestion of some connection with Indian, apparently Mahomedan, colonists in these legends, but this has not been elucidated, as the spirits are still held in sufficient veneration to discourage idle chatter.

Other local deities are the village spirits (*nat*). These are rarely found as objects of formal worship at the present time, but there is the usual catalogue of "Yôkkaso," tree guardians mostly resident in fig trees, and of "Ottasaung" in charge of buried treasure. The latter perhaps excite most interest, as it is always thought possible, though not found practicable, to circumvent their watchfulness. The "Thaye" a kind of spring-heeled jack, is expected to lurk in any remaining coppice and sometimes infests the open field. On occasion he is apparent "as tall as a toddy tree and with eyes as wide as saucers," at other times nothing but a large black presence can be felt. It is his speciality to seize people by the neck and even when there is no doctor in the village some old resident in a neighbourhood which a *thaye* inhabits will have become proficient in the art of setting broken necks.

Traces of totemism are still remembered among Talaings, but it is difficult to obtain full details. Some were connected with the tortoise. If they met one out of doors they had to avoid harming it and exclaim: "It's rotten." If, however, one should enter their house by any chance they had to kill and eat it; and if any of the inmates chanced to bring one home he himself had to eat it in person. Totemism

The "Ngayan" was a fish with which some of the Talaings had at least quasi-totemistic affinity.[1] They would bore it through the mouth as if for the nose-rope of a buffalo. These Talaings were known as Chywe Talaings (buffalo

Talaings) in distinction to In Talaings (lake-dwelling Talaings), the latter predominating on the Moulmein side. Information on these beliefs and practices is now very hazy and uncertain.

Fetichism. One branch of fetichism seems to consist in the employment in practical life of natural objects endowed with supernatural attributes. This is a practice still obtaining in Syriam District, but it is by now impossible to distinguish it as Burman or Talaing. It is combined, however, with Buddhist metaphysics. If the *karma* (*kan*) of any individual requires at any period of its being a certain combination of circumstances which is in nature impossible or in fact impracticable the being will be cut short unless there is a colourable imitation of the set of circumstances. Thus some object has to be endowed with supernatural attributes such as would, if natural, satisfy the requirements of the individual existence. The case most generally found is that of a child sickening of some unknown disease. She—the sex is hypothetical—is taken to a doctor, who announces that the working of *karma* necessitates a husband, but as she is not of marriageable years a substitute must be provided. The substitute is termed a *kamet*, in this case a *chi-hna-choung kamet* (two-footed *kamet*) and will probably be a fowl to which she is duly married. The fowl is then treated as a son-in-law and carefully protected, while even his offspring in the course of nature are regarded as relations. It may be that an adult at a certain time should acquire riches, but material economic laws have intervened. If the riches consist of live stock, four-legged wooden figures (*chile-gyaung kamet*) are presented, if of clothes, old cloth or pieces of imitation money, and so forth.

This practice is often combined with the belief in *wiñsas*, people reborn with some material connection with their former life. It is possible to find a baby who has signified its identity with its ancestry by crying lustily when newly born and refusing to be pacified until wrapped in some discarded garment of her grandmother. The burning of coloured lights and liberation of fishes as a means of averting death are no less common in Syriam District than elsewhere, but perhaps modern conditions have made people more chary than in other parts of having recourse to them save as a last resort. It is like "crossing the stream in a broken boat."

Agricultural Customs. The cult of *Bônmagyi* appears to be peculiarly Talaing. The last sheaf, larger than the rest, is left in the field overnight. Next morning it is wrapped in a skirt, given a comb

and mirror and taken with songs and silk handkerchiefs flying in triumph to the threshing floor. Then there is a feast to which the neighbours are invited; and as an opening ceremony it is asked to provide a bounteous harvest next year. The sheaf is supposed to be kept separate from the rest, but the price of paddy is high and it is apt to be included in the general threshing, or else the cattle eat it.[1] There are traces of a sequel to the ceremony being enacted before next sowing, but this is now neglected and even its former existence is uncertain. The custom is treated with derision by the Burmans and seems to be rapidly dying out; it is little good asking for a plentiful harvest when it will be reaped by some other person who has offered a higher rent for the land. It seems that a spirit who has only favours to bestow cannot hold out against the economic conditions of the present time so well as one who will revenge neglect.

Amusements.

For both young and old acting or song and dance of dramatic nature is the most attractive pastime. The baby before it can speak or stand upright already knows what is expected when it is told to dance, and curls its hands and fingers in groping imitation of its elders. Children of six to nine have learnt by heart the songs of the moment and readily act them with appropriate posturing; it is as well perhaps that they do not always understand the words nor utter them correctly, for they are usually indecorous. Even the very old will sit the night through at a play.

The plays are of the usual types that have been repeatedly described, the *zatpwe*, the drama proper, often commemorating historical events; the *yokethepwe* or marionette performance adhering more closely to tradition; and the ceremonial *yeinpwe*, or children's dance. With the older folk the marionettes find preference; the younger like the drama better. It is the *anyein* however, a music-hall variety of the *zat*, which seems to gain in general favour upon both the older forms. Action songs occasionally acted in the monastery by massed children of both sexes form a pleasing variety of the *anyein*. The costumes of these are presented by the villagers, and the children if they attain a reputation may be in great request at minor ceremonies in the neighbourhood.

The Bioscope and gramophone also increase in popularity, partly on account of cheaper prices although their performances are sooner finished The bioscope only visits the larger villages. The gramophone goes from hamlet to

[1] *Cf.* Harvest Customs in the Golden Bough.—Dr. F. G. Frazer.

hamlet and probably in part replaces the poorer class of actors. The largest villages which have grown into small towns are occasionally visited by an enterprising circus-manager. The pagoda festivals afford occasion for the combined display of many of these attractions.

Very few of the performers now-a-days are local. The village talent is for the most part exhibited spontaneously on ceremonial occasions; of these the *shinpyu* (ceremony of becoming a novice) affords the most frequent opportunity for the exhibition of religious song and dance. Here and there small villages still possess their band of actors who go round playing for hire. Most of the companies, however, come from Rangoon or Mandalay.

Gambling, drinking and opium-smoking are among the amusements of the elder folk, but it is difficult to estimate the extent to which these are carried on. Fowl-keeping is a favourite hobby and any cock is good enough to bet on. Possibly none of these pastimes find much patronage and there seem indications that gambling is less prevalent than formerly. Captain Parrott's animadversions on this subject in 1881 could hardly be justified now; probably the people have less money to throw away.

In towns and some large villages there will be billiard-tables; it is not necessary that there should be side-cushions as the game played often resembles roulette rather than billiards. Other games of chance are also variations of roulette, dice being substituted for the wheel and pictured figures of men or animals replacing the numbers of a roulette board. Three or four such are among the attractions at every village festival, but the frequenters seem to be mostly children. Pitch-and-toss attracts boys of very early age, but an adaptation of the shove-penny variety is more popular, and on most evenings in certain villages a small crowd of children and young men from 7 to 30 years of age may be discovered at this pastime. The elders usually win, but the children outdo them in profanity. The children of course are naturally educated by imitative games. The work of the field-labourer and salt-boiler lend themselves to play, but keeping shop is the most popular and it is hard to tell in many cases whether it is game or earnest. Touch, cross-touch, touch-wood and other varieties of the chase afford amusements to the babies, and as they grow older their games become more organised. Prisoner's base with bamboo bases engages boys and girls of quite marriageable years on moonlight nights in April. This is the children's hour and the village paths are dotted with dancing shadows

while the merriment continues long after elder folk have gone to bed. Two games deserve special mention, "the comb seller and the serpent" and "small-birds-waggle-heads." These, especially the former, seem to recall ceremonies of serpent worship. A variety of "conquers" played with green mangoes is also noteworthy: it is termed cock-fighting. Football has become popular even in remote places although the ball may be a sorry and undersized imitation of the genuine article, *chinlôn* * is of course universal amongst Burmans, but it is acting which breaks out irresistibly in odd corners and at bye-moments as the true embodiment of their grace and laughter.

CHAPTER IV.

AGRICULTURE.

Outline of development. There can be little doubt that in former days Syriam district comparatively thickly populated and the area under cultivation must have been proportionately extensive, but by the end of the eighteenth century the desolation even in the immediate vicinity of Rangoon is the subject of general remark.[1] Matters did not improve during the next fifty years. In 1826 Snodgrass after a week's march between Rangoon, Hmawbi and Hlaing describes the country[2] as consisting of "thick, high, brushwood jungle, with alternate patches of rice ground...few high trees and many of the richest plains lying a barren waste or bearing a luxuriant crop of noxious weeds and coarse rank grass." He describes the Karen tribe as thinly distributed over the whole area, such cultivation there was, however, being "in great measure left to them." These conditions cannot have been ameliorated during the disturbances culminating in the war of 1852; while there was at the same time as a further deterrent against cultivation a prohibition against the export of rice. Although the export trade was encouraged on the British occupation, it was some years before any considerable alteration was effected. At that time *dhani* (nipa palm) was the chief product in the delta of an agricultural nature, and so late as 1867 the Deputy Commissioner reports

* A game in which several players forming a circle keep in the air a hollow, spherical bamboo wicker ball with their toes, knees, heels, etc.

[1] Symes, page 165; Cox, pages 23, 426. See however page 4.

[2] Snodgrass, page 140.

that "the *dhani*-producing circles are wide in extent and most sparsely populated, a traveller may go a long day's journey without seeing a human being."[1]

These conditions are reflected in such statistics as are available. As at first constituted the Rangoon district contained an area of more than 10,000 square miles. According to one estimate there were in 1850 less than 50,000 acres under cultivation, not one per cent. of the total area.[2] The area annually returned as under rice between 1853 and 1860 is shown in the following table:—

Year.	Area under rice in acres.
1853-54	68,056
1854-55	103,678
1855-56	152,523
1856-57	209,278
1857-58	237,183
1858-59	227,207
1859-60	228,467

Although subsequent to 1860 there was a steady increase in the area under cultivation the comparative stability between 1856-57 and 1859-60 leads to the conclusion that normal conditions had by this time been resumed, and if this is so the area cultivated just before the British occupation must have been about 200,000 acres.

It was twenty years before this area was doubled, but in 1869 the Suez Canal was opened, and during the few years succeeding this event and apparently as a direct result there was an unprecedented expansion of the cultivated area, and during the five years between 1869 and 1874 there was considerably more new land brought under cultivation than there had been during the preceding twenty years.

Thus the area under rice was, in 1856, 209,278 acres; in 1869, 397,838 acres; and in 1874, 673,619 acres. The district was then partitioned, and it is impossible further to trace the actual increase in cultivated area within the limits of the original district. It was again partitioned in 1883, but after each partition there has been a greater ratio of increase in the remaining area till recent years. The cultivated area of Hanthawaddy district increased rapidly after the partition of 1883. In 1893-94 it was very nearly 600,000 acres and in two years later, mainly owing to the accretion of Kyauktan subdivision, very nearly a million.

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[1] Lloyd, District Letters, 1867.

[2] British Burma Gazetteer, Vol. II, page 548.

Table IV of Volume B shows the very slow increase of cultivation from 1901-02 in the Hanthawaddy district as it existed just before the partition of 1912. There is very little waste land now left to cultivate. Table V shows the nature of recent seasons in the same area and Table VI the amount advanced by Government to help cultivators. The latter was nearly all given in places where the floods of 1905-06 and 1906-07 had destroyed the rice-crop and caused much distress.

Prin
Con
tions

The tenure of land in the Delta until some time after the occupation presents features of such importance that it is necessary to describe it in some detail. Colonel Ardagh, who was in charge of the district in 1862, has left a valuable memorandum [1] on "The mode of tenure by which the greater portion of the land in Burma is held." He shows that for the most part occupation is distinct from ownership, and writes of it as a system of tenure fully recognised by Government. "It is a system," he continues, "which if we desire to encourage, as we should, the idea of property and right in the soil, our efforts should be directed to gradually abolish." The people themselves are equally definite as to former conditions; to the western mind, saturated with the idea of private property in land, it is not easy as a concrete fact to realise that it may be as free to man as air. The Burman seems to have much less difficulty in appreciating this—land is not even included among the traditional "seven noble kinds of property." Colonel Ardagh formed his opinion after personal enquiries repeated at the interval of a few months into the reason for the prevalent abandonment of land, which had been causing difficulties in the collection of revenue.[1] "In the majority of instances," he writes, "the villagers regard land, especially paddy land, to be common land which, if unoccupied, any villagers have a right to take up, and which when they have done with they have an equal right to throw aside. If not taken up it remains the common fallow land of the villagers for a few years until it finally—on being overgrown with jungle and long grass and the bunds partially obliterated—takes its place in the waste land of the village-tract. Accordingly where land deteriorates and requires a rest it is thrown into the common fallow ground of the village, and may be taken up by any one without being liable to objection by the previous cultivator, unless where the ground lying fallow impinges on the rest of his ground, in which

[1] District Letter Book, 1862.

case his permission is asked in a neighbourly manner."[1] A few years later, when this practice was already obsolecent, it had become generally recognised, and it is noted that the cultivator "desires to retain the cherished custom of throwing up his fields, and being released from the payment of revenue, whenever his necessities require him to do so."[2]. It is clear from the above, and emphasised in many other records, that there was nothing in the nature of communal tenure; there was no such thing over large parts of Pegu as property in land; possession was a temporary incident of occupation. The people still remember the tradition and it is no uncommon circumstance for old folk talking of their holdings in the early days to say that "land had not yet become a 'thing' (*oksa*) *i.e.*, a subject of property. Or they will say: "there was then no property (*apaing*) in land, he worked where he wanted to, and I worked where I wanted to." The progressively increasing yield that is a feature of newly cultivated land under normal conditions at the present time was then unknown. For instance they will remark that "the people only worked enough land for their own food, moving about from place to place every three years. Land did not improve with age at that time because cultivation was so light. There was no settled occupation of land until after the English occupation." Examples could be multiplied, but these instances suffice to indicate the mode of tenure in the fifties. It is the more remarkable because, as shown in Chapter V, it was accompanied by a relatively high degree of social organisation in other industries.

Except, however, that for all practical purposes there was no such thing over the greater portion of the district as property in any particular area of rice-land the characteristics of agriculture in early days resemble those of peasant proprietorship. The agricultural peasantry were people with hereditary skill in agriculture, the family sharing in the labours of the field without recourse to outside help and producing rice mainly for their own consumption. The favourite varieties seem to have consisted chiefly of *bawyut* and *midôn*.[3] Most of their other needs they satisfied themselves from the neighbouring streams and forests and their clothing was spun on their own looms. Hence they had no incentive to cultivate

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[1] District Letter Book, 1862.

[2] Memorandum by General Fytche, 1870. B. Set. Manual, Vol. I, page 51.

[3] Lloyd: Set. Rept. 1867, *passim*.

surplus rice, and there are people still living who remember the grain, after a favourable season, left rotting in the fields to moulder or be eaten by the rats. Cattle were scarce—all buffaloes, there were then no oxen—there was frequent murrain and ploughs were hardly necessary. The heavy knife (*dah*) was the agricultural implement of most importance, and with this alone in some localities the cultivator could obtain more than three hundred baskets. But those who kept buffaloes were skilled in cattle management, treating them carefully and segregating them from contact with disease.

It is clear that cultivation was mostly carried on by the Yun Shans in Syriam, and elsewhere, as when Snodgrass had visited the country, by hill tribes on the slopes of the Ridge. It did not differ in essentials from *taungya* cultivation : thus a cultivator roughly cleared a plot of land, and in a year or two as it gradually became less responsive to his labour passed on to other unoccupied land in the same neighbourhood.

Naturally under these circumstances there was no definite limit to the area of the holding worked ; land was free to all to cultivate or abandon at will, and year by year one could cultivate as much or as little as he felt inclined. The usual limit would be the area which would yield sufficient to support his family ; but so light was the cultivation that this may easily have been of some considerable size; while besides the area actually under cultivation in any particular year he would have a much wider area within his sphere of influence, either as cultivated in the recent past, or likely to be brought under cultivation in the immediate future. It was estimated that the average holding area at the time of the annexation measured ten acres ; but it has been pointed out[1] that this estimate was probably below the mark : a few families will in some villages still claim to have occupied two or three hundred acres in the second generation back. Near Rangoon and where there was a population devoting itself to other industries surplus rice would be cultivated.[2] It is possible in former centre of the salt-boiling industry to meet people who tell of their grandfathers breeding buffaloes, and obtaining their annual supply of rice by letting them to the cultivators who lived a little distance off. Thus in some cases the economy was not so simple as that outlined in the above account, but the more primitive system

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1 British Burma Gazetteer, Vol. II, page 552.
2 See Chapter VI.

seems to have been the more general, and it may be taken as a rule that the unit of production consisted of a family, skilled in agriculture under prevailing conditions, producing rice for their own consumption without recourse to outside labour and with little use even of cattle.

nes of ose- ent velop- nt.

From this primitive economy of the self-sufficing family there has since developed a complex organisation producing rice for the export market. As a general statement, subject to less reserve than many generalizations, it may be said that the unit of production used to be the family, now it is the ricemill. The records of Hanthawaddy afford exceptional opportunity for tracing this development. It has been characterised by the following changes:—

(1) Definition of the holding and increase in area.

(2) Differentiation between owner and cultivator.

The former tends to become a business man, land-holding being a branch of a business in which rice-trading and broking and money-lending are combined. The latter is either a tenant or paid agent of the land-holder, there being little difference of status between these two positions. No definite tenant class however is evolved, nor is there much difference between tenant or agent and the labourers whom they employ: the agent is in a somewhat superior position, the tenant may be in a worse. A phenomenon connected with this change is the growth of agricultural indebtedness.

(3) The introduction of hired labour, largely unskilled, division of function, and, partly consequent thereon, a fall on the rate of wages.

(4) The organisation of a market.

(5) Improvements in the method of cultivation.

It must be borne in mind that the changes here summarised are characteristic of the deltaic portions of the district, which have been brought under cultivation since the British occupation. In the older cultivated tracts there are smaller holdings, there is less recourse to hired labour and there is comparatively little indebtedness. Such places are mostly near the Ridge where Karens predominate. Peculiar racial characteristics are probably negligible other than in a very small degree for similar circumstances may be found among the Siamese-Shans of the deltaic tracts in Syriam. The physical configuration of the soil has exercised a more decisive influence: hilly lands are unsuited for agriculture on a large scale, and the Shans and the Karens, also, occupy larger holdings when working in the plains. Probably agricultural habit has been the most important factor. Where there was old established cultivation, and

the reorganisation of agriculture encountered settled conditions, holdings, though larger in the plains than on the Ridge, are not of a size consistent with large scale agriculture, less hired labour is employed, and there is comparatively little indebtedness. It is the later cultivated delta area which is typical of the agricultural condition of the district and it is this which is described in the succeeding paragraphs.

Settlement of 1867.

There is little information available prior to 1867 when an enquiry was held by Captain Lloyd, the Deputy Commissioner, with a view to the settlement of revenue.[1] At that time there had been no radical change, although traces may be perceived of a transition stage. In 1861 it is reported that most of the increase in cultivation is the work of small cultivators, but already in the early sixties extra labour had to be engaged at harvest, and "flocks of Burmese lads" crowd over annually to earn a few rupees. The investigation held in 1867 did not resemble a modern settlement, for the report is little more than a record of the issue of leases for periods of years. Information, however, as to the prevailing agricultural conditions can be gleaned by careful study. Holdings ran largest in the vicinity of Rangoon, in Kodaung circle they average 19 acres while there were 28 people possessed of upwards of 40 acres.[2] In other rice centres, such as Mahlaing and Môkkyun circles, they averaged 15 acres, and on the Ridge for instance in Lawadi and Indapura circles, the average was no larger than 7 or 8 acres.

The relation shown between holding area and the existence of other means of livelihood tends to show that home consumption was still over a large portion of the district the main object of cultivation. Holdings were small where there was garden cultivation—in Thôngwa circle for instance with 1,665 acres of garden land, rice holdings averaged little more than 5 acres a head; in Twante also there were 1,105 acres of garden and rice holdings were small, but this perhaps may be referred to the hilly nature of much of the country. At Khattiah, where there had been built a Government bazaar and the people earned part of their living by trade, the holdings were almost exactly 4 acres apiece, and in outlying places such as Kyaiklat they were smaller still.

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[1] See Chapter X.—*Revenue Administration.*

[2] Lloyd's Set. Rept. 1867, is the authority for these details. See for fuller particulars Chapter XIV.

In all the circles where there was much cultivation and especially in those such as Pyawbwè and Kodaung[1] where large holdings show long continued cultivation, there was a large proportion of Karens. But the frequent mention of Talaings show that these were also taking to cultivation, and instances are noted where the ancestors of the existing generation had been sea-fishers rather than agriculturists.[2] In some parts, for instance in the villages of Tamanaing circle, salt was still predominant, "numbers making large sums of money" by this means, while in Môkkyun "if the price of salt encourages them they manufacture that article and neglect their fields.[3]"

No particulars are given concerning the proportion of hired labour, but in 1868 the annual census showed over 20,000 labourers, and from the figures of the succeeding census it may be deduced that these were farm servants annually employed.[4]

The export market had already in part been organised. In 1868 "along the banks of the Pazundaung, Pegu and Rangoon rivers are to be seen lines of rice sheds, where formerly the foot of man scarcely trod, and nothing disturbed the quiet of the river bank but .....the screaming of the monkeys. Now the sound of steam-worked machinery is heard and year by year the bank is being occupied by busy traders cleaning rice for export."[5] In this year there commenced to run four small steamers, the property of private companies which charged for freight twenty rupees a ton. The outer terminus was Yandoon, where during the rains as many as a thousand boats collected loading on their return journey rice for Upper Burma. Already the rice mostly grown seems to have been *ngasein*, an export variety ; but it is significant that in Pyawbwé, the oldest centre, varieties suited for the local market continue to predominate.[6] As yet, however, brokers were not numerous enough to be separately mentioned in the statistics of population ; together with lawyers there were not more than 251 of both classes in the district. Hand milling was still largely practised, and even the export rice was almost entirely ground by hand. In the villages they still mention

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[1] British Burma Gazetteer, Vol. II, pages 270, 525. See also Chapter XIV.

[2] Set. Rept. Pyapôn Circle, page 44, Pyindaye Circle, page 46.

[3] See also British Burma Gazetter, Vol. II, page 202.

[4] Lloyd's Gazetteer, 1868.

[5] Lloyd's Gazetteer, 1868.

[6] This continued to be the case so late as 1880—Set. Rept. 1880-81, para. 6.

the annual influx into Rangoon to follow this laborious pursuit.

So far therefore there had been comparatively little change. In 1869 the Suez Canal was opened, and despite its geographical remoteness there is ample evidence that this occurrence was a critical point in the agricultural history of the district. In 1867 there had been only two steam rice mills; in 1872 there were 17.[1] In 1869 there were less than 400,000 acres under rice; in 1874 there were nearly 700,000. Writing in 1879 Colonel Spearman can say that the hired labourer is "paid by the season, living with the farmer and performing odd jobs about the house besides purely agricultural labour...the engagement includes ploughing, sowing, reaping, threshing and garnering and the rate of payment is usually 150 baskets of unhusked rice per man"[2]; in the Settlement Reports of 1879-80 and the succeeding years there is no trace of such a system; each operation is a separate engagement as at the present day. In the Census Report for 1872 the excess of males between the ages of 20 and 40 was only 4,665; in 1881 it was 34,905. In 1867 the average holding in the present Kyauktan subdivision can hardly have been more than fifteen acres, and over the whole area there is good reason for believing it to have been considerably less; in 1872 the average holding over 46,450 acres in the Syriam, Dawbôn and Pegu townships was found to be 25 acres,[3] and in the tracts settled in 1879 and 1880 which included the whole of the Kyauktan subdivision it was found to be 45 acres[4]. It was during this period moreover that there arose the development of agricultural indebtedness, which is first noticed in 1872.

The Re-organisation of Agriculture, 186[?] to 1870.

Unfortunately there is little detailed information as to the course of the change during these few years. It can be traced with some minuteness in the articles relating to circles in the Gazetteer of 1880, and further information is available in Chapter XIV of this gazetteer; but it is impossible to pursue the subject in greater detail here. Information may be gathered from incidental references in many official papers. It is clear that a large proportion of these holdings had not acquired the definition of modern days. The abolition of the lease system was the outcome of a series of surveys which showed among other things that in many cases the possessor of land would annually cultivate

[1] Annual Administration Report, 1871-72.
[2] British Burma Gazetteer, Vol. II, page 551.
[3] Set. Man., Vol. I, page 37.
[4] Set. Rept., 1879-80, para. 93; Set. Rept. 1880-81, para. 75.

only a small portion. The fallow statistics reflect the same condition; in 1871-72 any occupied but uncultivated land was reckoned fallow, and 14,000 acres were assessed at fallow rate; in the next year a more rigorous interpretation reduced the area assessed at fallow rate to 757 acres, which had been left uncultivated in the ordinary course of husbandry.[1]

The outstanding feature of the period is the influx of foreign labour. In 1874 was passed a labour law to encourage and control the importation of coolies. This however was found to hamper rather than promote development and a system of bounties was devised. A considerable proportion of this labour went to the Syriam district, and the increase in the alien population at this period may be traced in detail for many revenue circles in Colonel Spearman's Gazetteer.[2] Immigration was also taking place from other parts of Burma, whose inhabitants were unskilled in cultivation under the conditions of the delta and the tradition of cattle management was lost. The market was acquiring a more definite organisation, and in 1878 the brokers were enabled to form a combination to hold back rice in order to keep up prices.[3]

The First Regular Settlement, 1879-82.

The first regular settlement of the Syriam district on modern lines, which was held between 1879 and 1882, showed that the reorganisation of agriculture on modern lines had already taken place; since then the further change has consisted in development of the conditions existing at that time. In the tracts dealt with during the first two seasons the average holding area was found to be 43 and 45 acres[4] respectively, and since these included certain non-deltaic areas the average in the delta portion must have been even higher.

The landholders were already ceasing to be purely agriculturist, many wealthy cultivators owning boats for purposes of transport, and some of them lending money to poorer people of the neighbourhood.[5] The majority of the people regarded a good season as a season of good prices rather than of good harvests,[6] a fact which shows that production for home consumption was no longer contemplated,

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[1] Annual Revenue Reports, 1871-72 and 1872-73.
[2] The figures there given may be compared with those in Captain Parrott's Set. Repts. See also Chapter XIV.
[3] Annual Administration Report, 1879.
[4] Set. Rept., 1879-80, para. 91; Set. Rept., 1880-81, para. 75.
[5] Set Rept., 1881-82, para. 41.
[6] Set. Rept., 1883-84, para. 122.

but also indicates that the industry was mainly in the hands of local people and that the divorce between ownership and cultivation had not as yet proceeded very far. There was however, an increasing proportion of the cultivated area held by tenants. This is shown in the subjoined table :—

Year.		Area let to tenants.	Proportion of total cultivated area.
1879-80	...	10,535	5·5 per cent.
1880-81	...	33,007	18·0 „
1881-82	...	36,765	17·0 „

NOTE.—Variation of percentages depends largely on physical configuration, etc., in which respects the tracts differed from year to year; most of the deltaic portion was settled in the first two years.

The maximum rate appears to have been that fixed by Burman custom, one-tenth of the produce together with the revenue. Some cases of metayage[1] were found, the landlord supplying land, seed and capital, the tenant nothing but his labour.

For the hired labourer, other than the Indian, the agricultural year has already been broken up; there are separate engagements for the ploughing season and for harvest and for incidental labour but the harvest operations were in some cases broken up and separate engagments made for threshing and for reaping. The rate of wages has already fallen, the amount paid for ploughing varying from 50 to 100 baskets according to skill, and for reaping and threshing 40 to 75,[1] An average is taken at 70 or 60 baskets for ploughing and 60 for reaping[2]; but as these were the wages of assistants where the owner also worked himself it may be tåken that the wage of the better labourers was rather higher, and that 150 baskets which had been the usual wage when the labourer was engaged throughout the year was now only to be earned by the best labourers,[3] the ordinary wage being about 125 baskets. Sometimes the Burman labourer was engaged for reaping only, receiving one fourth to one third of the total number of sheaves.[4] Where however reaping was a separate operation, natives of India were usually employed. These were found in gangs nearly all over the deltaic portion at least of the district,[5] and more especially in the neighbourhood of Rangoon. Their organi-

[1] Set. Rept. 79-80, paragraph 125, 129.
[2] Set. Rept. 80-81, paragraph 85.
[3] British Burma Gazetteer Volumn II, page 551.
[4] Set. Rept. 79-80, paragraph 129.
[5] Set. Rept. 79-80, paragraph 35.

sation into gangs enabled them to "work rapidly." But it is noted that "their work is inferior, the sheaves small and badly formed." Transplanting was paid for at the rate of eight annas to one rupee a day. In all cases where Burmans were employed they were supplied with food during the period of hire. Natives of India were also supplied with certain provisions. Except the natives of India all the labourers were nominally paid in unhusked rice but if they could not wait until the reaping season "a lump sum considerably below the full market value was paid in full satisfaction of the debt."[1] In a double sense therefore they were adversely affected by the rise in price; a large proportion of their wages was required for the maintenance of themselves and their family, and so far as they were paid in advance in cash, the rise was largely discounted in the payment of their wages, while for such rice as they purchased they had to pay full value.

The difficulty in obtaining information regarding cost of carriage shows that the cultivator had little concern with the disposal of his produce,[2] and that a market was already organised, but carting was done chiefly by the cultivator, the drivers being labourers hired for threshing.

As could only be expected with a large immigrant population accustomed to different conditions settling on rich virgin land, agricultural methods are described as careless. The lack of a proper knowledge of cattle management is repeatedly noticed and there is no manuring (it was probably unnecessary) but the stubble is burnt to clear away the still remaining roots of trees. There seems to have been much less hand cultivation, but ploughing was light, four ploughings often being regarded as sufficient.[3] Straw has become a subsidiary product of pecuniary value near Rangoon, and is occasionally used by natives of India for fodder. The area available for grazing, although in some localities restricted, was not so small as to enforce this practice on the majority. Carts have improved and those with joined and solid wheels have already become obsolescent.

The increase of indebtedness is separately treated in a subsequent paragraph.

The First Revision Settlement, 1897-99. The reports on the revision settlements which took place between 1897 and 1899 show the further development of these conditions. The area of the holding had again

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[1] Set. Rept. 1879-80, paragraph 127.
[2] Set. Rept., 79-80, paragraphs 99, 100, 131.
[3] Set. Rept. 79-80, paragraph 29.

increased. In the area dealt with in the first year of revision the average holding was found to measure just under 60 [1] acres, whereas at the first settlement it had measured no more than 45 acres. This, area however, included numerous small holdings on the Ridge while many of the largest land holders, being non-resident, were not included in the statistics from which this average was deduced. Even the average holding worked by tenants covered 59·61 acres. In the typically deltaic area the average holding must therefore have been much larger. In the succeeding years the average holding was considerably smaller, but this was due to the large proportion of land on the Ridge and although the general average in 1900 was returned as no more than 31 acres, [2] for the rice growing circles proper it was returned as 70 acres. The proportion of individual owners of more than a hundred acres was found so large that in no year was it found convenient to compile a list of them as had been the practise at former settlements.[3]

The tendency towards the divorce of ownership and cultivation slightly noticeable in 1880 is now prcnounced Each year it is noted that the rent is paid in kind,[4] the reason given being that "the Burman money lender—who is also the landlord—is usually also a trader in paddy and takes his rent in kind," while "many money lenders and traders possess parcels of land scattered over the whole area" of the deltaic portion dealt with in 1897. Under these circumstances tenants were naturally numerous, and in 1897 more than 40 per cent. of the total cultivated area was rented. The constant moving from one place to another indicates that there was little difference between the tenant and the labourer whom he employed ; it was rare for him to stay on one holding more than two years while he usually stayed on more than one. It was considered that Rs. 10 per acre was not too high a rent for rice land of any sort, but the idea of an acre rate was not in general appreciated, the area which could be ploughed by one yoke of cattle being the usual unit ; near Rangoon where the idea of an acre rate was prevalent it varied from 6 to 15 baskets per acre.[5] Still the landlords do not as yet seem

[1] Set. Rept. 1897-98, paragraph 41.

[2] Set. Rept. 1899-1900, paragraph 46.

[3] Set. Rept. 1897-1898, paragraphs 41, 43 & 53. 98-1899, paragraph 51. 1899-1900. paragraph 51.

[4] Set. Rept. 1897-98, paragraph 43, 45.

[5] Set. Rept. 1897-98 paragraph 44.

to have been in a position seriously to oppress the people cultivating their estates further than is implied in the necessity for annual migration, and it is evident that there was considerable movement up and down between the various grades of landlord, tenant and labourer. There is practically no information given concerning the rate of wages; but in one year it is mentioned incidentally that the average man earns 80 baskets for the ploughing season and the good man 90 to 100. A few isolated instances show that 50 to 75 baskets were in certain cases paid for harvest hands[1] and it is quite possible that there had been no great change since settlement. This was the opinion of the Revision Settlement Officer. Reaping and threshing however had been more generally separated and the practice of engaging Indian labour for the former operations largely extended. The scarcity of grazing is also noted annually and this must also have involved a further division of functions by increasing the number of labourers engaged as herdsmen.

There appear to have been no substantial improvements in agricultural methods other than organisation; and even this where rents were high did not make for an increase in production; it is indicated by the practise of remitting rent after an unfavourable harvest.[2] Ploughing, must have become more thorough. The rice market, however, was by this time fully organised, and except for those land owners who were primarily brokers or traders, marketing the crop had ceased to form part of the normal agricultural operations of the year. "The division of labour" writes the Settlement Officer, is carried out fully and it is unusual even for a man after selling his paddy to cart it for hire on behalf of the purchaser." At certain places there were "great cart sheds where the professional cart driver awaited orders."[3]

Second Revision Settlement, 1907—10.

There was a second revision settlement in 1907-10 and from the Report written by Mr. R. E. V. Arbuthnot, information regarding the present agricultural conditions of the district supplementary to that given in the succeeding paragraphs may be obtained.

Agriculture at the present day.

As a result therefore of this development in different directions agriculture has entirely changed during the course of the last fifty years. There has been less change than

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[1] Set. Rept. 1897-98, paragraph 21.

[2] Set. Rept. 1897-98, paragraph 44. 1898-99, paragraph. 48. 1899-00, paragraph 50.

[3] Set. Rept. 1897-98, paragraph 8.

elsewhere in the neighbourhood of the hills, where there was in the first place old established cultivation; but these places are not now-a-days typical of the agriculture of the district, and even in these so far as circumstances permit a tendency exists towards the normal type of agriculture at the present day. In its full development however the agricultural business which is described below is confined to the deltaic tracts; in these it is probable that about half the area is worked on the lines of the description, and in the remaining area assimilation to type is rapidly taking place.

There has been a large increase in the size of holdings and estates of 2,000 to 5,000 acres are not unknown. In one circle, Mokkyun *, where there were 6,130 acres under cultivation in 1867 with an average of 15 acres per holding, there were 13,103 acres cultivated in 1881 with an average holding of 33 acres; and now there are upwards of 17,000 acres under cultivation, of which 10,500 acres are owned by 16 men, an average of 650 acres a head and this average does not include any land which they may possess outside the circle. Holdings of over 250 acres are not uncommon throughout the whole of the deltaic country. These estates consist of separate parcels of land, scattered over a wide area but there are at least two types of owner, and the area of distribution of the estate varies with the kind of owner. There is the man who resides in Rangoon or a large town; his estate will be widely distributed and he may possess land in any locality. Even among these however there is sometimes a certain restriction; it is still remembered how five "rich men" of Pazundaung distributed out the country side south of Pegu as areas for rice trading, money lending and land owing within which there should be no mutual competition. This distribution can still be traced; the chief representative of one of them owns 20,000 acres mainly in the southern half of Kyauktan subdivision; to the north there is another family predominant, and on the Twante side there is another.

The second type of owner possesses individually a smaller area, and the distribution of his estate is on a smaller scale. There are great difficulties in deciding whether a man is a resident or non-resident land owner, a man may be actually non-resident, although from the existence of a house or houses in the vicinity of some of

* Owing to repeated partition the total area of Mokkyun circle since 1881 has been only one-third of the total area of the circle known by this name in 1867.

his lands, he may be technically considered resident. There will be four or five men in two or three adjacent villages[1] holding land scattered over the whole area covered by these villages and the smaller neighbouring hamlets. If there is one village predominating as a small town these people will probably be congregated there. These smaller men with local interests have sometimes started as agents of the people in Rangoon, or they may have started independently; but in all such cases the actual cultivation is no concern of the people who own the land, and land-holding is not the only and often not the principal interest of those who own it as they are certain to do some money-lending and probably engage in rice-trading. Their lands are let to tenants or worked by agents. The choice of these two methods is of small importance as regards the crop produced; as rents rise there is a point beyond which the Burman tenant cannot afford to take the land and where Indian labour is available there is a tendency for the cultivation of land to pass to Indians and where it is not an agent may be introduced. But there are other explanations of the system of cultivation by agents, one of the commonest being that it indicates temporary but nominally absolute, alienation. The land is often let at a rate per acre or per plough, in other cases it is let by guess-work, owner and cultivator alike knowing little of its capabilities. As a general rule tenants and labourers alike assert that the tenant occupies financially the worse position of these two classes; this however is not universally the cases and in the less developed neighbourhoods the reverse probably obtains.

There appear to be three classes of tenants. The first is composed of people who have formerly owned land, but have become involved in debt, and lost possession. These are not numerous; most people who lose their land cease to be further connected with it; it is probable that it has not been long in their possession, and they have therefore but little interest in it. It is very rare that they will pay a higher rate for it than an outsider and the new owner has no interest in keeping them on as tenants. Not a small proportion of such people however appear to receive a privileged rate; in this case the transfer although registered as permanent is really temporary; the nominal tenant is the mortgager and actual owner; the apparent rent is in reality the sum due as interest.

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[1]See Chapter III.

By far the greater number of tenants consist of people who have recently been labourers and in all probability will again be labourers in the course of a few years.

The third class is important although probably less numerous even than the first. It consists of people who are too old to earn good wages, if any, as agricultural labourers, but are willing to pay a high rent as a condition of earning their living.

The rent varies usually from one-third to one-half of the produce but sometimes in a certain percentage exceeds the higher of these limits. Speaking generally it may be said that it is as high as can be paid and higher than can profitably be paid. It appears that the rent paid to professional money-lenders and natives of India is less than that paid to landlords who are themselves connected more or less distantly with agriculture. The latter are in a superior position for bargaining. More is paid to the landlord resident in the locality than to one who is non-resident as the former is both acquainted with circumstances and can watch his tenant more closely. The tenants almost invariably work with borrowed capital. Where, as is not uncommonly the case, they start with a certain capital of their own this is lost in the course of a few years, and they find themselves in debt, and begin again as coolies on the land or more often as boatmen. During these few years they have been moving from holding to holding, either because the rent is raised or in search of less arduous conditions. Those who have been longest tenants appear in general to be the most in debt, and labourers may be found working off the debts which they incurred as tenants. Usually however the landlord takes all the stock and cattle, and does not trouble to pursue them further.

Although movement from holding to holding every year is still as in 1897 the normal process there are local indications of more permanent conditions. A few cases may be found where the tenant takes land for a period of three to five years at a progressively increasing rent on the implied condition of improving it. The tenants in such cases are Burmans. More numerous are the instances where a native of India, usually heavily indebted, has worked land on an annual agreement for some years in succession.

Division of function among the labourers is probably carried to the extreme limits possible in agriculture. The tenant or agent will generally supervise the operations without personally taking part, a practice for which the size of holding worked is in some degree responsible.

But the abstention from assisting in the actual operations is apt to be exaggerated; whether the land is worked by Indian or Burman, two men appear necessary for cultivation, even for a single plough. In early days the subsidiary labour was contained within the family; now it must be hired.

Earthwork is done between January and May. In the early months the Burmans are mostly engaged in threshing and in the later months they have already been hired for ploughing and they profess not to understand this work. As a rule therefore natives of India have to be employed. Their organisation, and the possibility of engaging a certain amount of labour at a certain date without the trouble of personally organising it make it convenient to employ Indian rather than Burman labour. The wages have accordingly been fixed to suit the former and are not high enough to attract the Burman. The easiest work is paid for at the rate of eight annas for four square cubits, the wages rising as the work is more labourious.

Ploughing is paid by the season, which lasts four months from "Kason" to "Wagaung," the end of April till August. There are three methods of paying wages, either in unhusked rice at harvest, cash at harvest or ready money at time of ploughing. If the first method is adopted the whole or a large proportion of the wage is in many cases advanced in cash on the system known as "*sababe*"; in such cases the selling price is liberally discounted, no more than Rs. 40—60 being advanced on grain that will sell for over Rs 100 in a few months' time. As might be expected there is little difference between the wages thus paid in cash on "*sababe*" and those expressly paid cash down. There are usually at least two rates according to the ploughman's degree of skill, running from 60 to 80 baskets and from 50 to 60. The latter rate obtains in the older cultivated parts, especially the Syriam plain, and those portions of Twante subdivision where development has proceeded farthest; in the latter neighbourhood it is probably above the average. The higher rate obtains on newer lands and in parts of the district where circumstances have delayed development. On newly cultivated lands ploughing is more irksome, which in part accounts for the higher rate. Ploughmen who work with buffaloes receive a rather higher wage than those who work with oxen. The best men will receive 80, 90 or even 100 baskets, but anything above 80 is comparatively rare and probably includes duties of supervision. In some cases 50 baskets and, rarely, 40 is the wage of the best

ploughman; the latter rate is found in the immediate vicinity of Tamanaing, and the existence of salt factories, providing occupation in off seasons is possibly sufficient to account for it. Wages seem to run lower in neighbourhoods where Indian labour is employed. Burmans never hire Indian ploughmen, and Indian tenants and owners hire very few Burman ploughmen, so there is never competition between the two classes on the same land in the same year, but the constant migration of tenants from holding to holding year by year renders it possible for wages paid to Indians to affact those paid to Burmans.

There is also a tendency for youths to take the place of adults in the less important operations, and these are paid at a lower rate. A youth also is usually employed as a cook for the labourers, and he usually helps in the field receiving 35 to 25 baskets if paid in kind.

If paid in cash at harvest the wage is supposed to represent the cash equivalent of unhusked rice, the price being taken as a hundred rupees per hundred baskets. This practise is a recent innovation, said to have been introduced when the price of the grain rose above a hundred. As remarked above, the wages paid cash down differ little from the "*sababe*" equivalent of unhusked rice paid at harvest; cash payment however is more general where the rate of wage runs lowest.

It appears that wages are low where rent is high; the best paid men are found on the largest estates, especially if these are not let to tenants; and the lowest wages are generally found on small estates worked at a high rent, as the lessee can only pay it with difficulty, and is compelled to economise on his wages-bill. This tendency may in part, but not entirely, be accounted for by the necessity for a larger supply of able men on large estates; the smaller, poorer cultivator will assist in the work himself, or at least be able to supervise more closely and does not need such expensive skilled assistance.

Transplanting is paid for by time or by piece. In the former case the usual wages are eight annas a day with food, or ten annas without; in the latter case prices vary greatly with the difficulty of the task; Rs. 2 is the ordinary rate for uprooting a hundred bundles of seedlings and Rs. 2 to Rs. 3 for planting them. It may be carried out before ploughing is completed, all the labour available in the neighbourhood being employed, but there are great local variations as to the employment of women.

The operations of threshing and reaping are still combined in a certain proportion of cases, but this is usually where the holding is small and it is less inconvenient for the cultivator to carry out the work with his own men and less remunerative to the coolie-foreman, who prefers large contracts.

Where the operations have been separated reaping is carried out by gangs of coolies. These are usually, and until recent years were invariably, Indians. The large holdings of the present day necessitate a long engagement at the threshing season; but this is the only period of the year when the hired labourer can attend to his domestic matters as during the slack season after ploughing it is impossible to move from place to place.

There is fuel, thatch, bamboo, and so forth to obtain, and unless he is so extravagant as to buy them he must travel annually increasing distances for his supplies. Thus while the period of threshing has been growing longer it had been becoming more important to the labourer to make it shorter. The fall in the rate of wages for threshing has also acted as an inducement to the Burman to occupy himself with reaping; but the importance of the former cause is indicated by the fact that where there is a family of labourers the members will usually distribute their energies over both occupations of threshing and reaping. The rate of payment for reaping varies with the fertility of the soil, and in some degree with the area of the holding; where the holding is larger the rate is lower. It usually lies between Rs. 2-8 and Rs. 3-8 per acre, but depends on the difficulty of the work. In some cases the older custom is followed of paying the reaper by a share in the produce, one-fifth or one-sixth of the sheaves reaped being allotted them, but their portion may rise to one-fourth or may fall below one-sixth. In such cases the labourers are Burmans. A gang of Burman coolies gets higher wages than a gang of Indians as the Burman is considered the better reaper.

Threshing is done by Burmans hired by the season which usually lasts three months, from the end of December until March. Thirty-five baskets of unhusked rice is regarded as the standard wage, but in practise less is usually paid, and in some localities even the best labourer earns no more than Rs. 25; a wage in cash for threshing is perhaps more general at the present day than in kind.

Herding is a separate branch. There are two seasons, the first between ploughing and threshing, the second between threshing and the next season. During the earlier

one herd is usually engaged for each pair of cattle; during the latter, when the reaped fields are available for grazing, one man or boy will superintend a herd for several estates, only those in special need of good feeding being sent to the regular grazing grounds. The rates vary according as cattle are tended separately or in herds; in the former case Rs. 10 or ten baskets of grain is paid per yoke and in the latter case Rs. 3 a head. The rates for buffaloes are slightly higher than those paid for oxen.

In all cases where labour is engaged by the season, food is also provided. Indians are supplied with rice, oil and fuel. The herdsman sometimes fends for himself.

The most noticeable feature of the system is that no labourer performs all the operations of agriculture. Each engagement is a separate transaction, the employer naturally seeking for the cheapest labourer, and the labourer for the employer who will offer most. Thus it often happens that a man will not find employment in more than two of the annual operations, ploughing being one and reaping or threshing the other, while even for these his engagements are often on different estates. Such a labourer will earn 75 to 85 baskets, a good man about 100 and a first rate man, experienced and responsible, may obtain 120. If cash payment has become the local custom, it is unlikely that he will earn more than the same number of rupees, and may earn less, as in such places wages tend to run lower. If he is paid in advance, his annual income from agriculture will be considerably below this figure.

An estate cultivated by Indians is usually organized on entirely different and much more primitive lines. The labourers are engaged for the whole year and employed in all the operations. Even in such cases extra labour will probably be necessary for earthwork, reaping and transplanting. This organization closely resembling the family unit is presumably that to which they have been accustomed in Madras. It is better perhaps than the Burman system as cattle are kept on the estate throughout the year, and their manure becomes available for use. The Burman system is the cheaper, as the labourer does not have to be supported during the seasons of the year when the agriculturist is resting, and were it not for the low standard of living of Madrassi coolies, it would be impossible to conduct agriculture on such lines. It is significant that among Indian land-owners or tenants, whose traditions have been shaken by long residence in Burma, there is a tendency to adopt the Burman system of engaging labour by the season

or by piece-work. By employing cheap Madrassi labour and using it upon the cheap Burman system there is a double economy, which reduces the wages-bill to a minimum. Agricultural methods and the organization of markets have altered little since the settlement of 1897; the striking feature of agricultural development in Syriam district is the change in economic organization. A synopsis of agricultural methods is given in a separate paragraph.

Agricultural Indebtedness. Since the phenomenon of agricultural indebtedness was first noticed in 1872 [1] there has been much discussion of the subject, but little study. This date shows that it was one of the earliest results of the reorganization of agriculture. At that time it is ascribed to purchase of cattle in response to the stimulus given to extension of cultivation.

In 1874 [2] a partial failure of the rains increased the burden of indebtedness on this account, as cattle had to be replaced before the former debts could be paid. By the end of the decade it is reported that the Rangoon money-lenders had a fast hold over the people of the deltaic portion of the district. It had already become customary to ascribe indebtedness to the thriftless nature of the Burman.

At the time of the first settlement in 1880 indebtedness had become a normal feature of agriculture, 67 per cent. of the people being in debt on account of the current year, and 11 per cent. owing debts of longer standing [3]. This proportion refers only to the area settled in that year, but subsequent reports [4] show that conditions over the whole district were very similar.

At the second settlement it is reported that almost all the cultivators are indebted except the Karens [5]. The exception is noteworthy as these are, excepting certain Shans, the only long established agriculturists. In the following year it is found that in some circles the average indebtedness per family reached Rs. 1,033. Extravagance and trading operations were supposed to be the cause of this condition of affairs.

Subsequent enquiries again show that the Karens and the Yun Shans of the Kyauktan subdivision are the least indebted, and that very few other people are out of debt.

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[1] Settlement Report, 1881-82, paragraph 44.
[2] Annual Revenue Report, 1874-75.
[3] Settlement Report, 1880-81, paragraph 18.
[4] Settlement Report, 1881-82, paragraphs 40—44.
" " 1882-83, paragraph 43.
" " 1883-84, " 85.
[5] Settlement Report, 1897-98.

It is doubtful however to what extent this can be considered as agricultural indebtedness; as regards the tenant it is strictly a burden upon agricultural operations, but as regards the land owner who owes money, although the debt may have been incurred to purchase land, it does not follow that his connection with the land is agricultural. Many of the classes who are sufficiently well off to be in debt regard themselves as limited companies, and invest all their money in the development of their personal resources; in many cases and probably as a rule, this is to the benefit of the man who supplies the money rather than of the borrower, but first and last it is a business transaction.

Much of the indebtedness must also be ascribed rather to the desire of the capitalist to lend rather than to the want of the agriculturist to borrow. The competition among money-lenders is probably far keener than that among those to whom they lend; this has greatly reduced the rate of interest, but has also increased indebtedness.

Much of the indebtedness among those who work as tenants is due to the rise of rents, and the tenant becomes the more indebted the longer he works as tenant. This feature is characteristic of both Indian and Burman tenants and there are few Burman tenants who are so heavily in debt as some of the Indians; they withdraw sooner from a losing game. But a satisfactory analysis of the statistics of indebtedness has not as yet been made, and the amount and the cause must therefore be regarded as uncertain.

Present method of Agriculture.

A full description of the agricultural methods then in vogue is given by Captain Parrott in his settlement report; considerations of space preclude repetition and it is only possible to treat of certain matters which were omitted by him, or which are innovations since his time as in other respects his account [1] still holds substantially true.

In the early eighties there were many attempts to introduce machinery into various operations [2] but none of these proved successful. The implements employed during the ploughing season consist of the plough (*te*) and the harrow (*tundon*); the latter is almost universal but the use of the former is exceptional. A variety of the plough is the "kagyi tun" which has four teeth shod with iron and is used in heavy soils. A variety of the harrow is the "setton," one form of which is employed for smoothing the soil after

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[1] Settlement Report, 1879-80, paragraphs 25—36.
 " " 1883-84, paragraphs 29—39.

[2] Administration Report, 1881—84.
Revenue Report, 1881—85.

ploughing, another for cutting weeds and breaking the furrows into clods. These subordinate varieties are only used where the soil requires special treatment and sometimes they are abandoned after a long period of use, the surface conditions having changed; the "setton" for instance is in some parts no longer used on old land where the surface has become hard.

Before reaping, the field is usually swept with a long bamboo, so as to bend the crop and make the work easy. The ordinary sickle is employed. In threshing, the grain is trodden out by cattle and then winnowed through large trays on bamboo tripods. Considerable care is shown in suiting the variety of grain to the soil; salt-resisting varieties are grown in salt-impregnated areas; long-lived or short-lived varieties according as water is more or less abundant; but considerations of the market predominate in many cases, and prevent the production of the crop most suited to the soil, while the uncertainty regarding tenancies forbids in the majority of cases far-sighted selection of seed. In detail moreover very little regard is had to difference of soil; thus over a certain area the prevailing variety may be that most suited to the soil but there will be a mixture of many other kinds.

Manuring depends on the amount of manure available, and this depends on the mode of cattle herding, and the proportion of cattle to the area under cultivation. If the cattle are stall fed, as is usual among Indians, there is a certain supply of manure, but where the cattle are grazed at a distance their manure cannot be used. In any case as most of the cattle are imported, and the area per plough is large there is comparatively little manure available. In some cases the use of manure is deliberately avoided to prevent over development of the stalk. A noticeable change of recent years is the abandonment of the practice of burning the stubble. The earth is now clear of roots of trees, and the stubble is a better fertiliser than the ash.

Agricultural Stock.

If the district figures relating to the quantity of agricultural stock can be in any way relied upon, the extension of cultivation has certainly not been accompanied by a proportionate increase in plough cattle.

In early days there was a preponderance of buffaloes in the ratio of about three to one. In 1898-99 the Settlement Officer's figures show that buffaloes are only very little in excess of bullocks, but by 1910 the latter largely preponderated and the original proportion is being inverted. (See Table IV, Volume B.)

A large import trade now exists and there are few cattle in the district which do not earn their keep.

Fertility.

There are no statistics of sufficient accuracy to determine whether the soil is at present markedly less fertile than was formerly the case; such as there are however tend to support the antecedent probability that the fertility is decreasing. This is more clearly shown by reference to the map prepared by Captain Fitzroy in 1862 showing the limits of cultivated area; the areas shown as cultivated at the time are now the least fertile in the district, and were in many cases leniently assessed on that account during the settlement of 1897—99. Various experiments in the sixties give outturns per acre ranging from 30 to 56 baskets, but in his Gazetteer of 1868 Captain Lloyd states the ordinary outturn to be 60 to 80 baskets per acre. In 1872 as the result of actual measurements Colonel Davies, the Deputy Commissioner, considered the average to lie between 40 and 45 baskets per acre.[1]

These early experiments were all conducted on too small a scale to be convincing, they were not numerous and the area included in each experiment was small, varying from $\frac{1}{8}$th to $\frac{1}{16}$th of an acre. In 1880 there are trustworthy experiments made during the first settlement which give an average of 30 to 35 baskets per acre, and figures do not prove a serious diminution since then. It is unlikely that they would, the range of variation within the limits of the district is so great that it is of very little use to attempt an average for the whole district. In the older tracts on high land with a salt impregnated surface the yield can be little more than ten baskets per acre; in other parts where the land is in its prime, there must be a yield of well over sixty.

Gardens and Miscellaneous Cultivation.

Gardens are of little importance. Along the Ridge in both Syriam and Twante there is cultivation assessed at garden rates, but bamboos and fuel are the principal sources of profit. The usual garden consists of mango, jack, marian and danyin trees, with pine-apple grown as a ground-crop. The mis cellaneous cultivation consists of market gardens; the produce includes pumpkins, cucumbers, lettuce, radishes, cabbages, roselle, chillies and many kinds of beans. They are well manured with farm-yard refuse and sessamum waste, and carefully cultivated. Near Rangoon English vegetables predominate; further off less profitable native varieties are more numerous.

[1] Settlement Report, 1881-82, paragraph 44.

Betel-leaf pays best of all; in 1900 the profit per acre was estimated at nearly Rs. 1,800 per acre, but such close attention to irrigation and manuring is required that only very small areas can be cultivated; a large holding consists of 5,000 plants and occupies about the third of an acre.

Dhani.

The cultivation of "*dhani*" (the *nipa* palm) is of less importance than before when it was the main agricultural product of the delta. Prior to 1864 the revenue derived from *dhani* cutters was farmed by auction to the highest bidder and in 1863 a revenue of Rs. 3,000 was thus obtained. Then licenses to cut were issued at the rate of one rupee per knife. There was a great fall in revenue to Rs. 1,569 in 1864-65 and Rs 1,832 in 1865-66. It throws a light on contemporaneous conditions to read that many escaped the tax "owing to the impossibility of getting hold of them in the vast uninhabited *dhani* forests."[1]

Subsequently it was assessed at an acre rate, which seems to have averaged about Rs. 1-12-0 before the settlement of 1879-80. At this time the average holding was rather less than five acres, but since then as *dhani* has become scarcer the size of holding has shown a tendency to increase, and holdings up to 15 acres are not unknown. The revenue-rate has also increased; in 1879 it was fixed at Rs. 3 per acre and in 1897 and in 1910 at Rs. 5.

In 1880 the liquor obtained from the stem and the thatch obtained from the leaves were both of importance; the former sold at Rs. 6 per hundred viss, fresh liquor of good quality reaching so much as Rs. 20, and the latter sold at Rs. 10 per hundred pieces. Since then the thatch has in most plantations become the more important product; in 1897 it sold at Rs. 2-8-0 per hundred pieces and at the present day fetches about Rs. 2-4-0 or Rs. 2-8-0. Although it is scarcer and more people have to purchase it, the competition from Pyapôn district has checked the rise of prices.

Floods and drought and other causes of crop failure.

The rainfall in Syriam district is so regular that floods and drought are practically unknown. In 1842 there was a visitation of cholera, and agriculture was in consequence neglected. For two months rice was scarce and famine prevailed, but the distress was relieved by imports from Arakan. In 1853 as a result of the war the price of rice reached Rs. 8 a basket, and during the last war with Burma the cultivators of Syriam as elsewhere experienced considerable hardship, but this was relieved to some extent by the facilities for money-lending which had recently developed.

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[1] Annual Revenue Report 1865-66.

The only notable instance of drought occurred in 1874. Rainfall statistics had been taken from 1870, and although these are probably rather rough approximations to the actual fall, they indicate the sudden decrease :—

Year	Inches of Rain.	Year	Inches of Rain.
1870	144·0	1875	79·50
1871	143·61	1876	97·80
1872	118·00	1877	102·64
1873	124·95	1878	85·30
1874	70·80		

Although in the poorest year there is a large rainfall it may not be equally distributed, and the late rains are often lighter than could be wished. This causes damage to the crops and the loss usually falls on the tenant although the labourer may also lose a portion of his hire, and the landlord be unable to recover the rent in full. Floods are more frequent. In the Angyi township of the Twante subdivision floods are first noticed in the seventies as the result of embankments of the Irrawaddy in the Henzada district. These areas are still liable to damage, and during the period 1905—12 the remissions of revenue thereby necessitated has been very large.

In the south of the district the fields are liable to encroachment by the sea, and invasion of salt-laden tidal waters which renders cultivation expensive and precarious in the south and west of Kungyangôn township and to a lesser extent in the Kyauktan subdivision.

There is no irrigation in Syriam district except a little from wells for growing betel vines and vegetables. Irrigation.

CHAPTER V.

FORESTS AND MINERALS.

There are three classes of forests within Syriam District, *viz.*— Kinds of forest.

(1) Mangrove Forests which consist of trees growing on land submerged by every tide;

(2) Tidal Forests which consist of trees growing on land occasionally submerged; and

(3) Plain Forests which consist of trees growing on land above tidal limits.

A few of the more important members of the flora are given below (page 95).

Already in 1880 it had been noted that the plains north of Rangoon in Insein district had been stripped of fuel by the pressure of the Rangoon market. So much was this Fuel reserves.

the case that the inhabitants had no other fuel but the drift timber rescued from the river. In 1894 steps were taken to regulate the supply in the interests of posterity and five reserves were constituted in the Syriam district known as the Kawdun, Kwelwe, Tanmanaing, Tawku and Zepathwe reserves. But the urgency of the local demand and the inadequacy of the supervision largely frustrated these endeavours and after prolonged enquiry the former three were thrown open to cultivation in 1905. The last two were entirely closed, all rights over them being peremptorily abrogated for a period of three years. It has not however been found possible to prevent dilapidation and the question is still being considered as to the advisability of continuing the policy of restriction and preservation.

The planting of teak is no longer resorted to. There is little of it or any other valuable timber in the district and Forest work is chiefly concerned with the preservation of the fuel supply.

Forest Administration.

The Syriam district lies within the Rangoon Forest division, three of the ranges, of which the Twante, Kyauktan and Rangoon riverine ranges, fall wholly or partly within the district. The first two correspond to the civil subdivisions of the same names.

Reserved forests.

The reserved forests of the Twante range are divided into the Twante-Kondan and the Twante tidal forests. The Twante-Kondan forests are scattered in a string along the Twante ridge from Kanbe to the China Bakir river. There are six of these reserves, the Kanbe (5 square miles), Kyundaw (2 square miles), Kawhmu (8 square miles), Peinnegôn (2 square miles), Thamo (3 square miles) and Wamyetsangyi (1 square mile), with a total area of approximately 21 square miles.

The Twante tidal forests are found at the mouth of the Bassein creek and along a strip on the sea coast to the east of it. There are three forest reserves, the Tawku (8 square miles) and Míngalun (12 square miles) on the west and east respectively of the Bassein creek and the Zepathwe (8 square miles) on the coast of the Gulf of Martaban; a total of 28 square miles.

The reserved forests of the Kyauktan range are found in the extreme east and comprise the Alangon (32 square miles) and Kadônbaw (31 square miles) reserves, a total of 63 square miles. The area however has been greatly increased in the case of the Alangn reserve by accretions on the sea coast. Pending a survey the exact area cannot be given but it is probably at least as large again.

The Twante-Kondan forests occupy the ridge running north and south through the Twante subdivision and are of the moist to dry type distinguished by the following species:— Nature of the forests.

Nabe, Banbwe, Thabyebyu, Aukchinza, Kabaung, Maniawga, Ananbo, Petthan, Nagyi, Pyinma, bibyugwe and Myaukchaw. The principal bamboos are Waya, Wanet, Wabo and Wagauk. Salu and Kyeinga are found in the moister parts. The growth is not good and trees do not grow to a large size.

The Twante tidal forests comprising the Mingalun, Tawku and Zepathwe reserves may be divided into three classes:—

(1) Those submerged daily by the tide.

(2) Those occasionally submerged.

(3) Those on slight elevations.

Class (1) are Mangrove forests distinguished by the following species:—Kanbala, Pinle-Kanazo, Byu, Baing-doung, Madama, Kaya, Langu, Lame and Dhani. These are found, as one would expect, along the shores and banks of the streams or sea and extend for a short distance inland up to the point covered by the daily tides.

Class (2) occur beyond the first class on the ground occasionally submerged and may be termed tidal forests. The principal species are Thame-net and Thame-byu, Byaik, Thayaw, Thinboung, Thitwin, Panta-aga, Minga, Kaya, Kayu, Thinban and various creepers.

Class (3) are found on the ridges of higher ground some distance from the creeks and are much the same forest as that found along the Twante ridge. The principal species are Pyinma, Letpan, Letkok, Kye and Thayet.

The Kyauktan forests (Alangôn and Kadônbaw reserves) may be divided into two classes:—

(1) Fuel producing; | (2) Grass land.

In the Alangôn reserve about four-fifths belong to the fuel class and the remaining fifth is grass land. The Kadônbaw reserve is practically all grass land.

Class (1) is characterised by the appearance of Thame-byu, Thame-net, Thayaw, Madama and Momaka and is of much the same nature as the tidal forests of Twante. In addition to the above there are numerous other shrubs and creepers of less importance.

By class (2), grass land, is meant a non-wood-producing area covered with a dense growth of the following grasses:—Thetke, Kyu, Nandaw.

None of these forests are worked at present under a regular system. Such a system is required and a rough working plan is to be drawn up as soon as possible. The Methods of working.

object of this plan will be to afford to the public a regular supply of fuel without depleting the forests and they will probably be divided into compartments and certain trees in each compartment will be marked by the Forest Department according to a prescribed rotation. The marked trees will then be sold standing and extracted by the purchasers. At present the forests suffer considerably from the depredations of the villagers, and give no revenue except a few hundred rupees for bamboos and a little laterite on the Twante ridge.

A great deal of firewood passes through the district by river from Pyapôn and adjacent districts, but the royalty is collected at Rangoon by the staff of the Rangoon riverine range.

A table (No. VIII) showing the area of reserved and unreserved forests and forest receipts and expenditure for the Hanthawaddy district as it existed just before the partition of 1912 is given in Volume B. The decrease in the area of reserved forests in 1905-06 is due to the abolition of three fuel reserves in the present Syriam district, already mentioned.

List of trees.

The following is a list of the principal trees in the Syriam district with their habitat and uses.

Burman name.	Scientific name.	Habitat.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4
Baingdaung ...	Bruguiera gymnorhyza.	Mangrove swamp.	Used for house posts and fuel. Bows are made of the large roots.
Bonlon ...	...	Tidal forest ...	Also called Nagaungbu. Used for house posts and fuel—scarce.
Bu ...	...	Tidal forest ...	A creeper with red-berries and edible leaves.
Byaik ...	...	Tidal forest ...	A thorny deciduous shrub, used for fire-wood.
Byu ...	Rhizophora Mucronata	Mangrove swamp.	Fairly common: hard wood: put to the same uses as Baingdaung but more suitable.
Kyun ...	Tectona grandis.	Hills ...	The teak of commerce.
Dhani ...	Nipa Fruticans.	Mangrove swamp.	Used for thatch and liquor.

The following is a list of principal trees in the Syriam district with their habitat and uses—contd.

Burman name.	Scientific name.	Habitat.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4
Eikmathwe ...	Lumnitzera Racemosa.	Tidal forest ...	Used for fuel—scarce; also called "Thangyi."
Hngetkyi-daung.	Acrosticum aureum.	Tidal forest ...	A large fern with edible leaves.
In ...	Dipterocarpus tuberculatus.	Hill and plain	Used for making planks, boats, etc.
Kanbala ...	Sonneratia apetala.	Mangrove swamp.	Fairly common, used for house posts, planks and firewood. A graceful, willow-like tree.
Kanyin ...	Dipterocarpus laevis	Hill and plain	Planks and posts.
Kayat ...	Aegicoras corniculata.	Mangrove swamp.	Common—good firewood.
Kaya ...	Acanthus ilicifolia.	Tidal forest, banks of streams.	A very common bush the blue "trumpet flower"—leaves said to be edible.
Kayu ...	Pluchea Indica.	Tidal forest, banks of streams.	A very common bush; leaves medicinal.
Kye ...	Barringtonia acutangula	Hill and plain	Used for firewood.
Lame ...	...	Mangrove swamp.	Used for fuel—scarce.
Langu ...	Sonneratia griffithii.	Mangrove swamp and banks of creeks.	Common and used for fuel.
Letkok ...	Sterculia alata.	Hill and plain	Planks and firewood.
Letpan ...	Bombax malabaricum.	Hill and plain	Planks and firewood.
Madama ...	Kandelia Rhedii.	Mangrove swamp.	Now scarce though formerly common; small house posts sell at a rupee a piece; the bark affords a dye for tanning nets; used also for harrow-teeth and fuel.
Momaka ...	Tamarix gallica.	Tidal forest	The "willow" fairly common; used for fuel.

The following is a list of principal trees in the Syriam district with their habitat and uses—concld.

Burman name	Scientific name.	Habitat.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4
Myinga ...	...	Tidal forest ..	Now scarce; has been used for fuel.
Pantaya ...	Amoora cucullata.	Tidal forest ..	Scarce; used for house-posts, oars and fuel.
Nyaungpu ...	...	...	*See* Bonlon.
Pinle-kanaso	Heritiera minor.	Mangrove swamp.	Now scarce; formerly much used for house-posts, fuel, harrow-teeth and occasionally planks.
Finlœsa ...	...	Mangrove swamp.	Scarce—used for fuel.
Pyinkado ...	Xylia dolabriformis.	Hill ...	Fine timber; now scarce, having been exhausted to supply railway sleepers.
Pyinma ...	Lagerstrœmia flos reginæ.	Hill and plain	On plains scarce and stunted: used for planks and fuel.
Saukkala ...	...	Plain ...	Used for fuel.
Tawshauk ...	Glycosmis pentaphylla	Tidal forest ...	Scarce; —used for fuel.
Thame-net ...	Avicennia tomentosa.	Tidal forest and bank of creeks.	Formerly covered a large area, but only scrub now left; used for fuel.
Thame-byu ...	Avicennia officinalis.		
Thangyi ...	...	...	*See* Eikmathwe.
Thayaw ...	Excolcaria Agallocha	Tidal forest	Common; used for fuel.
Thinban ...	Hibiscus tiliaccus.	Tidal forest	A common shrub; used for fuel and firewood.
Thinbaung ...	Phœnix paludoso.	Tidal forest	The "date palm;" a small palm growing in dense thickets with edible berries; of recent years much used for house posts.
Thitwin ...	Pongamia glabra.	Tidal forest	Scarce; used for house posts and fuel.
Wetkyein ..	Flagellaria Indica.	Tidal forest	Also called "Myaukkyein:" a cane used for ropes.

Minerals.

The mineral wealth of the district is unimportant. Laterite from the ridge is used as road-metal, but it is too deficient in iron to be good. Clay is excavated for brick-making, and in the neighbourhood of Kungyangôn and Twante for pottery. Statistics of the quality and value of minerals, including salt, produced in the Hanthawaddy district as it existed just before the partition of 1912 are given in Table IX, Volume B. Salt is fully treated in Chapters VI, etc.

CHAPTER VI.

OCCUPATIONS AND TRADE.

General Table of occupation.

It is convenient to commence an account of the occupations of the district by summarising the returns which have been made at various times. In 1868 Captain Lloyd gives in his Gazetteer an analysis of the occupations which is shown to be approximately correct by comparison with the figures obtained at the census held in 1872. The figures in the subjoined table relating to 1868 are taken from Captain Lloyd's analysis; the remaining figures are taken from the census returns of the respective years.

Employment.	Number of people engaged in								
	1868.	1872.	1881.		1891.		1901.		
			Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Dependents.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Public ...	190	562	1,458	1	1,270	891	1,806	84	2,641
Professional ...	889	2,479	2,913	312	3,639	1,345	4,203	599	3,349
Domestic ...	20,754	25,049	1,225	2,622	8[illegible]6	436	2,654	1,179	1,780
Agricultural ...	41,618	41,1[illegible]0	88,5[illegible]4	44,894	98,874	88,557	116,515	48,221	181,330
Commercial ...	5,234	5,234	14,469	3,663	11,483	5,392	12,932	2,205	12,939
Manufacturing	3,933	7,614	17,605	17,996	22,157	22,343	28,947	19,987	30,474
Miscellaneous...	...	250.206	112,844	119,314	6,152	3,634	7,710	12[illegible]7	4,319
Total ...	...	332,324	239,018	183,702	144,441	122,568	174,767	73,182	236,862

Analysis of table.

In matters of detail little reliance can be placed upon this table; varying classification of occupations at different times and alterations in the area of the district have exercised a disturbing influence too great to permit of useful comparison between the actual figures for different years. But it is useful in tracing the broad outlines of general movements. Although it shows the preponderance

of industries of an agricultural nature, it does not fully illustrate the concentration within the district upon the production of rice. This can be illustrated by another analysis. The preponderance of males in the manufacturing class in 1901 is almost entirely accounted for by the inclusion of 8,047 rice mill operatives; the similar preponderance under the heading "commercial" is accounted for by the presence of over 9,000 males who are engaged in transport and storage, the females under this head numbering no more than 405. Of these 9,000 odd there are 6,195 boatmen and bargemen. It is interesting to observe that in 1891, prior to the organization of the milling industry, within the limits of the district there were still more females than males engaged in manufacture, as had always been the case in previous years. Transport, however, had already been organized on modern lines in 1881. In that year there were 5,832 boatmen engaged on inland waters, and 1,464 upon the sea, while there were 2,077 cart drivers. This is a further illustration that the agricultural revolution was complete in all essentials in 1881; cultivation had been dissociated from disposal of the crop. Another economic change is indicated in this table. In 1868 the number of people shown as being in domestic service is 20,754; in Lloyd's Gazetteer these are all classed as labourers but their actual position is apparent if a comparison be made with the figures of 1872. It is clear that the large majority of those engaged in domestic service in 1872 were farm hands. Those included under agriculture are almost entirely cultivators other than hired labourers. It is not without significance that there is an increase in the hired labour and a decrease in the number of employers during these few years. But the point of most importance is that these people are shown as domestic servants because they were engaged throughout the year, a practice which died out so rapidly and so thoroughly that although described in 1880 as being the ordinary custom it finds no mention at all in the report on the actual investigations made by the Settlement Officer of that year. In 1911 the population of Hanthawaddy district as it existed just before the partition of 1912, was distributed as follows:—

Professions	...	...	9,661
Agriculture	...	...	363,935
Commerce	...	...	82,856
Industry	...	...	37,515
Other occupations	...	...	45,142
	Total	...	539,109

Figures for the Syriam district are not available, but except in Syriam town and the environs of Rangoon the population is almost wholly engaged in the rice industry.

General conditions at the annexation of 1853.

The foregoing table shows in some degree how the activities of the district are concentrated on the production of rice for the export market. It is obvious that this has not always been the case; and there can be little doubt that in the early days of the British occupation over large portions of the district, possibly over the larger portion, agriculture was not the most important industry and where it was carried on the cultivator was in the main concerned with production for home consumption. In the Lawadi circle, covering over a hundred square miles in the Kungyangôn township it is reported that "the Karen and Shan are garden and rice cultivators, and the Talaings were formerly all salt or salt-pot makers, but many have taken to agriculture, as owing to importation, salt-making has ceased to be as profitable as formerly." [1] In the adjacent circle of Tanmanaing, covering an area not quite so large, it is reported that in 1859 "but little cultivation was carried on, the energies of the people—who were almost all Talaing—being entirely thrown into the manufacture of salt." [2]

In other parts fishing was predominant. At Thatekwin in Kyauktaingbyin circle, for instance, it is said that fifty years ago there were some 200 houses beside the Baw stream. Of these only three or four were engaged in cultivation the majority being fishing coolies taking a little for themselves and paying a large share to the owner of the fishery. There was also salt-boiling in the neighbourhood on the patches of higher land, but this died out as the rate of excise on salt was raised. Not far from here is a long settled colony of Siamese Shans who appear to have been hereditarily engaged in agriculture. Immigrant Burmans would probably tend to engage in agriculture; but since large-scale salt-boiling is sometimes termed the "Burman" method in contradiction to that employed by the Talaings, it is probable that they also occupied themselves in this direction.

It is not therefore altogether easy to form a mental picture of the industrial condition of the district at the time of the annexation. It would appear, however, that the Talaings, generally speaking, were engaged in fishing, salt-boiling

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[1] British Burma Gazetteer, Vol. II.—Article on La-Wa-Dee. See also Chapter IV.

[2] British Burma Gazetteer, Vol. II.

or pottery; the Burmans in salt-boiling or agriculture; and the Karens and Shans in agriculture. In particular the cultivation of gardens was the speciality of the Shans. Rice was grown for home consumption only except in the neighbourhood of the Talaings who were engaged in other occupations, and also in the immediate vicinity of Rangoon. Pottery was for the most part an industry subsidiary to salt-boiling, but for the Pegu jars of Twante there had been an export market since the sixteenth century. The salt-boiling and fishing industries were already organized on a capitalist basis with hired labour and adapted to the export market. It is probable that these three occupations were the most profitable; in a way they alone produced profits; if the agriculturist produced a surplus he had to leave it unharvested for want of a market. Besides these there were the ordinary occupations of the household. The times are still remembered when if one wanted clothes to wear, he had to wait until his wife could weave them; a silk "putso" (kilt and plaid) bought for fifteen rupees at Mandalay would be handed down to succeeding generations as an heirloom to be worn at festivals; "in fact" they will tell you "people hardly had an idea that clothes could be bought and sold, and a woman cunning in dyes and weaving needed no other dowry." These facts are still of significance in present day administration when it is remembered that the Shans of Kyauktaingbyin and Yun and the Karens, both of them the hereditary agriculturists, are comparatively free from indebtedness, that their holdings, especially those of the Karens, are still comparatively small, and that the tendency to the formation of large rice producing estates is least where the influence of these people is greatest. There is little doubt that this is so partly because salt-workers and fishermen are accustomed to payment by the day and month instead of receiving their income at the annual harvest; but another factor enabling them to hold out against modern agricultural conditions may be found in their being firmly settled before the economic change.

lised vil- in- ies.

Salt and pottery were the only important industries localised in particular areas. The growing of "Dhani" (*nipa* palm), an occupation of less importance, was confined to the "dhani" producing circles of the delta. The Twante township was also noted for its coarse reed mats, and at Khabin,[1] a village in this township, were made the straw hats worn by cultivators in the rains.

[1] Lloyd, R. G.

In early days, however, fish was obtainable free of charge in almost every hamlet, and almost all the clothing was woven by the women on their own looms. As the concentration on rice production has developed these industries have died away. The people describe how, "first of all thread was introduced and it was only necessary to dye it, then there were coloured threads for sale, and finally you could buy clothes as fast as you could make them dirty, so that all the girls have forgotten how to weave." In 1881 there were still 13 people engaged in making looms, but in 1901 none were either made or sold; in 1881 six people returned themselves as dealing in coloured dyes, but there is no such entry in the returns for 1901. Census returns of occupation must however be treated with caution.

Salt boiling is now restricted to a few square miles; large quantities of fish are imported from the western districts, and the local mats have no longer any special reputation. The manufacture of pottery appears to have declined with the salt-industry, and the articles now produced are of poor quality and although very cheap are less sought after than those imported from the West.

Industrial methods.

Methods of agriculture are explained in Chapter IV; those of salt-boiling and fishing in Chapter X; the manufacture of pottery, as it was carried on when still of some importance, is described in the British Burma Gazetteer, Volume II, page 558; at the present time it is not of sufficient importance to justify description.

Modern industries.

Thus there has been over the district as a whole a tendency to the decay of local and village industries, and concentration upon the production of rice for the export market. But in recent years there have been two new developments, one of these directly connected with the general movement, the other an adventitious growth, resulting from the proximity of a great commercial centre. The former consists in the establishment of steam rice-mills at outlying centres. These however are neither numerous nor important, mostly grind rice for consumption and are managed by Indian and Chinese millers at a small profit, and often at a loss. So long as present conditions obtain it is unlikely that there will be any great development in this direction. The latter is more important; it consists in the establishment of mills and factories of a miscellaneous nature in the suburbs of Rangoon. They extend over a considerable area; in the Kyauktan subdivision they occupy a large portion of a river frontage up to the mouth of the Hmawwun river. Among these the oil refineries are the most important;

the Burma Oil Company has two refineries at Syriam; at the adjacent village of Seikkyi, a few miles further south, is that of the Indo-Burma Company; and further south again at Thilawa that of the Rangoon Oil Company. Another refinery is in course of construction by the Twinsa Company, and still more are contemplated by other companies. In connection with these has risen a large demand for bricks, which are mostly baked in Syriam. As a result mainly of this development the revenue derived from clay for brick-making has risen. At Thilawa also are works for the construction of river steamers and river flats. At the Burma Oil Works at Syriam there are on an average 3,750 people employed daily throughout the year. The rice mills only work for a certain portion of the year and so the daily average does not represent their real importance; in 1908 the daily average number of employees was returned as 600 and 337 in the case of two European mills, between 100 and 200 in the case of four mills, of which two were owned by European firms and two by Indians, and between 20 and 100 in the case of 11 mills, of which five were owned by Indians, three by Burmans, two by Chinaman and one by an European firm. During the actual working season the averages would be much in excess of the figures here given.

Although the old village and local industries have declined, there are still important occupations neither carried on in factories nor directly connected with agriculture. Trade is in the hands mostly of Indians and Chinamen, the latter usually having the largest establishments. Shops for the most part are of two kinds, clothing and dry goods stores, but it is only in the larger places that differentiation is carried so far as this; in others there may be two or three village shops but all of them supply much the same kind of article, and cater for all village wants. In Indian shops, however, except in such as are specially devoted to clothing, it is not usual to find any clothing sold. Sessamun-oil, cheap varieties of kerosine, fish-paste, chillies, onions, betel and turmeric are the main articles of vend, but luxuries such as tinned milk, tinned biscuits and tinned fish, especially sardines, are also sold. The standing of a shop may be estimated by the kind of biscuit sold; in the poorer shops there will be imports from China, in the shops frequented by the wealthier classes expensive brands will be found. Burmans as a rule have the smaller shops, and they often combine the business with sampan-pulling, thus saving on cost of carriage, the husband when he takes passengers to Rangoon replenishing the stock which his wife will sell. The richest people patronise these

shops but little, as they can purchase in Rangoon. A large credit trade is carried on, although many shops bear mottos indicating the prudence of prompt payments; but it is by giving credit that most profit is derived. The stock is often allowed to run low when the agriculturist has most money at the time of harvest, and he is compelled to purchase in driblets and before long on credit.

The pedlars are mostly Burmans; if they are people of the neighbourhood they are usually women; if they are men they are usually Upper Burmans of whom numbers come down annually from Pakôkku district. Over a large part of the district the local basket contains only 12 *pyis*, instead of the orthordox 16. This is the result of competition. The bazaar women would take their pay in rice, and it paid them to use a large measure when counting out their dues; goods sold by them were measured in the customers' measure, and until the practice became generally known the bazaar women could afford to laugh at the competition of the shops. Gradually the practice became universal both among purchasers and vendors, and the *pyi* has been standardised at 12 to the basket by local custom. Blacksmiths go round from village to village in the cold weather, and after four or five years thus spent in wandering will pick out a place likely to develope and settle down there. Even then, however, they will move on in search of profit if receipts fall off. All now use European bellows; the old Burman variety which gave a powerful draught but was cumbrous to move and laborious to work has finally died out within the last few years. There are usually three men to the bellows, one of them probably being a local man unskilled and hired for the few days of their stay; the others are skilled; all three however divide their profits equally. Bellows of the modern type cost Rs. 60 and the whole outfit will probably cost over Rs. 75. Carpenters, of whom many are Upper Burmans, are equally adaptable. They also go about the villages during the cold weather, many of them building houses for the rich rice-merchants near Bassein. Sampans until recently have been built by Chinamen in Rangoon, but some of the carpenters in waterside places have realised that these bring in large profits and have taken to making them. A sampan to hold 150 baskets of grain costs in material alone Rs. 115; capital or credit is therefore needed to set up business. A single man can build a boat in 15 days but will usually take 17 to 20, charging for his labour Rs. 35; the total cost of such a boat to the purchaser will therefore be Rs. 150. The dyer using German blocks and dyes is another kind of

artizan often to be found. The washermen and barbers are Indians. Not many animals are kept. The Indians breed goats which are very destructive to such vegetation as remains, and the Chinamen, Karens and a few of the Burmans keep pigs. Duck-breeding has always been a favourite and profitable occupation of the Chinamen, and in some villages there are large barns which contain hundreds and possibly thousands of these noisy birds. In the day-time however they are released, and in the evening two of the shop assistants—it is usually a shop-keeper who owns them—go out with long poles to bring them home to the village. It is an exciting scene; at several points of the river the poles will not quite reach across, and the ducks double back; but persistent tapping on the water with occasionally a light blow dealt to some particularly obstreperous individual finally results in bringing them home by nightfall every evening. Of recent years there has been a new development, and in the north of Syriam where duck-breeding is peculiarly favoured there are patent incubators and eggs and newly-hatched ducklings are always to be had.

The Census figures.

The statistics taken in 1872 relating to the various kinds of occupation do not show the results by districts except under main heads. In certain cases it is possible to arrive at the district figures by comparison with those given for the division in which the district was included, but there is a special note of warning against regarding them as trustworthy. Since 1881 figures for the district are obtainable; but caution is still necessary. Certain comparisons, however, suggest themselves which are of interest and value. In 1881 there were 38,652 males returned as owning land and 22,729 females; in 1901 there were 20,570 males and 11,146 females—about half the number in rather more than half the same area. The number of labourers however had greatly increased during the same period; in 1881 there were 14,650 males and 4,983 females returned as hired labourers; in 1901 there were 86,523 males, and 33,835 females, the number increasing six fold in the course of twenty years. Coolies, however, who in 1881 were classed as "indefinite and unproductive" numbered 14,994 males and 4,895 females, and if as is probable most of these were engaged in agriculture, the increase would be no more than three fold.

The growth in the number of people who return themselves as money-lenders is also a subject of some interest. In 1872 no one thus described himself, a circumstance consistent with the first mention of agricultural indebtedness in the

following year. By 1881 there were 188 males and 146 females who gave this as their occupation, and in 1901 there were within the district as then constituted 335 male and 124 female money-lenders. The disproportionate increase among the males probably represents the influx of the Indian chetty.[1]

Industrial organisation. There is one feature of the industrial system of Syriam district which although not peculiar to the district is perhaps more noticeable here than elsewhere. It is surprising until reflection shows it to be natural that most of the people seem to be everything by turns and nothing long. The land-owner may be rice-trader, rice-broker, carrier, shopkeeper, money-lender or lawyer; so far is this carried that in many cases it is difficult to say whether a man is a trader, money-lender or agriculturist. But it is difficult to see how it could be otherwise; land-owning and money-lending are the only openings for investing capital and in modern agriculture as practised in Syriam, money-lending, land-owning and rice-trading are so intimately connected as practically to be cognate branches of the same industry. The successful cultivator has probably come from some other locality, he has almost certainly not possessed the land more than a few years, and he naturally has no bias in favour of such an unpleasant and laborious occupation as rice-growing; if he sees his way he lends out money and purchases land and should he prosper embarks on rice-trading; if at any stage he fails he becomes a tenant and shortly afterwards an agricultural labourer. Thus there is a constant tendency acting in both directions; the agriculturist becomes a man of business; the man of business, the lawyer, the broker or the shop-keeper becomes an agriculturist. Lower down the scale there is the same diversity of occupation. The tenant is the child of chance. Almost any labourer who has amassed enough to buy a yoke of cattle may become a tenant, and almost any tenant may have to become a labourer in the course of a year or two. The labourer if a Lower Burman has learnt from childhood to pull a sampan, and can at any rate row in the galley-like timber boats and rice-barges; he can take his turn as carpenter or may find work as tallyman in a mill. Few industries have been established long enough to develop special skill, and even agriculture as it has grown up in the last forty years is almost an unskilled operation. It is improbable that the industrial system will retain this kaleidescopic nature, but at present it is difficult to tell in what direction evolution will take place.

[1] For Agricultural Indebtedness *see* Chapter IV, page 86.

CHAPTER VII.

MEANS OF COMMUNICATION.

Post and Telegraph. The impersonal means of communication, by letter and telegraph are maintained by the provincial establishment; there was until 31st March 1906 a district-post establishment on which Rs. 13,071 was expended in 1905-06. The pay of village postmen totalled Rs. 3,150 and of postmen and runners Rs. 6,608; while Rs. 1,262 was expended on rents, rates and taxes. Some of the post offices and telegraph offices are given in Volume B, Part I. Personal communications are maintained by river and road only as there are no railways.

Waterways. Opposite Rangoon opens the Twantè canal, which shortens the route by the Kanaungto creek between the Rangoon and the To rivers. This is much used by small steamers and cargo boats as it is the shortest route between Rangoon and the Irrawaddy. As regards the internal communications of the district it is of most importance in being the means of communication between the headquarters and the townships of the Twantè subdivision. Launches of the Irrawaddy Flotilla Company go by this canal to Kungyangôn and back to Rangoon by the Thakutpin creek; there is a service in opposite directions on alternate days. There is constant communication by steamer between Rangoon and Syriam. Other launches maintain a connection with the headquarters of the townships in the Kyauktan subdivision. One line passes up the Hmawwun river to Kyauktan and Thôngwa; another line goes up the Pegu river as far as Kamamat, there being a small drainage canal to Kayan, the headquarters of the Kayan township of Kyauktan subdivision. Besides the Irrawaddy Flotilla Company's boats there are several launches belonging to private individuals and companies, but their running is irregular. The large Irrawaddy steamers to Bassein and Mandalay pass along the Thakutpin creek, but these do not call at any places within the district.

There are numerous sampan services more or less regular in conection with these lines of launches, and there are few places within the district with which boat communication is impossible. The fare to Rangoon by these is often half the amount it costs to return, as people may require an inducement to go to Rangoon, but it is essential for them to return and the boat owner arranges his fares accordingly. Freight is mostly carried in Burmese cargo boats and if on a large scale such as fuel or grain by barges called "tonkin;" but

sampans too may be employed to carry these and are also used for the carriage of miscellaneous goods to stock the country shops. The launches are more used for passengers than for freight, but they carry goods of small bulk. "Tonkins" are usually hired at five rupees the day; the charge for sampans varies with the distance from Rangoon measured by the number of tides occupied on the journey. The most important "*yegyaw*" (junction) is at Wabalaukthauk; here the tides meet from the Rangoon and To rivers, and it is possible so to arrange a journey as to arrive at Wabalaukthauk with the up tide and go straight on with the down tide, instead of having to wait as is necessary at other places.

Ferries and rest-houses. A list of ferries is given in Volume B. Landing stages are maintained at Twantè, Kyauktan, Thôngwa, Thabyegan, Kungyangôn and Kyaiktaw. It is proposed to facilitate disembarking at Syriam by the construction of a jetty. There is at present only a landing stage built in 1908-09. There are bungalows maintained by various departments for the use of officers on tour, many of these being kept up at the expense of the district fund. For native travellers there are numerous rest-houses erected by private charity, the most appreciated probably being those at the points of call along the river, which are often some distance from a village.

Roads. A list of roads is given in Volume B. They are of minor importance; except on the high lands they are both difficult to construct and maintain and of little use when constructed. There are only three main roads, one from Dala to Twantè, one from Kyauktan to Pagandaung and one from Kabin to Kungyangôn. The rest are very short, all under 7 miles in length and most of them act as feeders either for the main roads or for the waterways. In the rains travel across country except by road or waterway is impossible but after harvest the whole country is open to cart traffic as there are no fences. Statistics of mileage of and expenditure on roads are given in Table XI, Volume B.

CHAPTER VIII.

FAMINE.

Scarcity. There is no record of any famine having occurred in Syriam district except perhaps in 1842 when a violent outbreak of cholera caused the fields to be left unsown,

nor is there any likelihood of one occurring in the future. A very low rainfall (71 in.) in 1874 led to a scanty harvest and some distress, but nothing approaching a famine. There is sometimes a scarcity of food not amounting to famine in seasons of abnormally high prices of unhusked rice when the cultivators are tempted to sell all or nearly all their store without keeping enough for their own and the consumption of their hired labourers and are forced to buy husked rice later on in the year at correspondingly high prices. Both 1910-11 and 1911-12 were such seasons and it is remarkable that in Rangoon, which lies on the edge of the district, there were then some cases of death occurring in the streets from what appeared to be destitution or disease which the want of food rendered the victims unable to resist. This may be due to the exceptionally high prices of rice, or it may be due to the increase in the immigration of beggars, or perhaps Rangoon is now rapidly losing any likeness it had to a Burman village and is becoming a foreign town full of many races where charity to be effective must be organised.

CHAPTER IX.

GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

Organisation of Hanthawaddy. Period 1376—1556.

In the year 1376 A.D. "Hanthawaddy" was organised into thirty-two provinces or townships by Razadirit.[1] Among these the province of Dala was not included.[2] This remained as a separate although a less important unit until the British occupation when it was incorporated in Rangoon district[3] and the revenues derived from it were assigned by custom to the chief queen of the reigning sovereign whether of Syriam, Hanthawaddy or Ava.

The empire was subsequently remodelled by Dhammazeti about 1450[4] but the internal organisation of Hanthawaddy remained unaffected until the British assumed control. The greater portion of the territories hitherto united under this name was then distributed between the two districts of Rangoon and Martaban; some of the provinces or townships retained their status under the latter designation and others of less importance became revenue circles.

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[1] Hanthawaddy Sittan and History of Syriam.
[2] History of Syriam.
[3] Symes, page 142.
[4] Forcchammer: Notes on Early Geography.

Further details are not obtainable until in the 16th century Hanthawaddy commences to attract the attention of adventurers in India and Europe. Syriam rose into prominence as a port and in 1566 a Governor was stationed there by Syinbyumyashin "to settle the assessment and levy of revenues among the towns and villages in due proportion so as to provide for the officials[1]." Fish, cocoanuts, sugar and plantains are mentioned among the contributions, and "the royal tribute of betel from Dala gardens had to be brought into the Royal Treasury of Betel at Syriam." At the same time Syriam was appointed as a watch-port and three war boats set there, for the support of which the people of the locality had to contribute in kind and service.

Reforms of Tha Lun Min Tayagyi.

In 1632 Tha Lun Min Tayagyi, the Emperor of Pegu, removed his Court to Ava[2] Hanthawaddy naturally diminished in importance and Syriam, now the most important revenue station of the empire, gained at its expense. Accordingly the *Akunwun* of Hanthawaddy was moved to Syriam where in addition to his former duties he was charged with taking toll of the ships arriving there.[1]

This was not the only reform of this sovereign. He re-organised the general administration of the revenue. "He appointed officials for the receipt of customs. The five districts of the Karens and the people of all the towns and villages of Hanthawaddy had to provide the twelve kinds of revenue, a toll of gold, a toll of silver-pieces, a toll of rope, tolls of the two varieties of cane, a toll of wood oil, a toll of madder (for dying), a toll of powder, a toll of paddy, a toll of chillies, a toll of salt and a toll of salt-fish. The *Akunwun* had to keep record of the revenue and pay it into the Royal Treasury, the clerks of the *Akunwuns* had to keep accounts of the revenue collected in detail and in brief make out the lists for the High Clerks of the Royal Court. [1]"

Period 1632-1784.

There are incidental references to administrative methods between 1632 and 1784 but it is at present impossible to assign them even approximately to their proper dates. Despite the high degree of organisation it appears that excepting such obvious items as the commission on brokerage and money changer's profits the greatest part of the revenue consisted of payments in service and kind. The people of Syriam had to provide the Governor's guard; the boat caulkers had to give their services when required; many held rights of jurisdiction by naval and

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[1] History of Syriam.

[2] Phayre. History of Burma.

military tenure. In some cases the connection between the occupation and the service rendered seems remote; thus in Syriam the washermen and barbers had to provide oil-torches at festivals, the money changers and the brokers provided wood-oil, while people from the quarter of the boat-caulkers had to carry the torches after they had been made. On the occasion of the three yearly festivals and on the accession of a monarch aids were levied ([1]); but of these the incidence appears to have been rather haphazard; they would not for instance be collected in a newly colonised township. ([2])

Modern Burman Administration.

Towards the close of eighteenth century much more material concerning the administration becomes available. Light is thrown upon it in the works of Sangermano, Symes and Cox, and especially in revenue matters considerable detail is forthcoming from the still surviving records of the surveys held in 1784 and 1803. These set forth the revenues and boundaries of each township in Hanthawaddy; the originals however, which apparently included rolls of all the households, are no longer in existence. On the survey of 1784, records are only left for four townships but those of 1803 are practically complete except for the retailed lists.

With the revival of the Peguan empire in 1740 Syriam had again become subordinate to Pegu and when Alaung Paya brought about the final downfall of the Talaings, Pegu still remained the residence of the Governor of Hanthawaddy [3]. By this time Syriam had become practically a foreign colony and experience had repeatedly proved that it lay too open to attack. The new town of Rangoon was therefore established in its stead as chief port of the empire. The Governor of the thirty-two Provinces of Hanthawaddy at Pegu was known to the British as the Governor of Rangoon and his establishment was divided between both places. He presided over the public office (Youdaw) which included the Commissioner of Customs, one or two auditors, scribes and readers. Subordinate to him and apparently members also of the office were the Inspector of Waters (Ye-wun), Commandant (Sitke) and Inspectors of Shipping and Port Dues (Shebandar or Akaukwun) [4]. The Governor of Syriam appears to have been subordinate to

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[1] History of Syriam.
[2] Sittan.
[3] Symes, page 172.
[4] Sangermano. Chapter XI.

him but to have stood higher than the ordinary head of a township [1]; the Governor of Dala was inferior in rank to the Governor of Hanthawaddy but independent. There was a host of minor officials, useful or ornamental, with various titles, such as Penin, Sitkut, Yebaw and others too numerous to mention, charged with military or judicial administration or the collection of revenue, or merely with the regulation of ceremonies.

Of these the most important administratively were the *Myothugyis* one at the head of each province or township. They were probably a survival of the Talaing administration and are of interest as representing the only approach to organisation on hereditary, territorial lines [2]. The *Myothugyi* was the connecting link between the people within the township, organised for the most part tribally or by occupation, and the external official hierarchy. "The heads over the Karens, the heads over the Yabeins, the land agents, the heads over the elephants and over the buffaloes and over the horses.........distribute the demand and collect the revenue proportionately as amoung ears of corn that are long or short or trees that are small or high [3]". The Myothugyi was charged with receiving the revenue from them and paying it over to the Royal Treasury. The fees and revenues of a township were sometimes alienated temporarily by the crown as a mark of royal favour, or for service rendered, to individuals termed "*Myosas*;" in this case the proportion of the revenue due to the crown would be made over to them[3], the local authorities deducting their customary share. Thus the distinguishing characteristic of the Burman administration of Hanthawaddy was its organisation on personal not on territorial lines.

The Sittans.

There is considerable interest in the details of revenue collection given in the "Sittans" or surveys of 1784 and 1803. It is however impossible to set down in brief space any general summary, as the system of collection and the details given vary from township to township; nor is it possible to draw any comparison except on points of

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[1] History of Syriam.

[2] Even these did not appreciate the *quasi*-feudal nature of early British administration: "it was found a matter of no small difficulty to make *Thugyis* and others understand that they had jurisdiction over all residents in their territories." British Burma Gazetteer, Volume II, page 563.

[3] Sittan.

detail between the results of the two surveys. The main heads of revenue were land revenue, fishery revenue and poll tax; brokerage dues and customs and octroi tolls also find mention. The land revenue unit in the case of rice-land was the area which a pair of buffaloes could plough. It was assessed either in rice or in silver; in the record of one township it is mentioned that payment in money and not in kind was a recent innovation dating from the reign of Sinbyumyashin (1703—45); that this however was not universal is shown in another record where payment in kind in 1803 replaces payment in money in 1874. In the earlier year ten baskets of unhusked rice or two tolas of silver is the amount due on the unit area of land; twenty years later the demand on the same area had risen to 50 and in some parts to 55 baskets. The possession of buffaloes however was not essential to the payment of revenue. The number of yokes possessed may have been a useful means of gauging ability to pay but many considerations combine to show that the land revenue shared the general characteristic of the fiscal system in being a personal impost rather than an area tax. On land other than rice land and on fruit trees the assessment was sometimes a proportion of the produce, more generally a definite sum in silver varying from two "*mat*" to two tolas in 1784, and from two *mat* to one tola in 1803. In the latter year there was a heavy tax of five tolas a head on the owners of betel gardens. Worthy of notice too is the ingenious graduation of the wood-oil tax in 1784, the workmen paying only one tola a head if they tapped the trees near the top but two tolas if they adopted the more wasteful method of tapping near the bottom.

The fishery tax was also a charge per head; and here increasing graduation and differentiation are observable between 1784 and 1803. In the former year the only fishing taxed is that in the tanks, the workmen paying two to three tolas a head; in 1803 tank-fishers pay five tolas a head, while those using a casting net pay one tola and those using a drag net two tolas. The salt-workers pay a small tax of one *mat* a head.

Minor sources of revenue were bees-wax and elephant tusks; the tax on these was paid either in money or in kind, the Karens of one village paying an annual tax of five viss of wax or two hundred and fifty viss of ivory or six tickals and one *mat* of silver.

The Karens and Yabeins had to pay a poll-tax varying from nine to ten tolas of silver per household. This charge

was not in reality so heavy as at first appears, as among these hill tribes a whole village occupied one long dwelling in common.

In the case of every tax the quality of the silver in which it had to be paid is carefully defined, pure silver, nine parts, or as the case may be. The proportion to be allotted to the various officials, local and central, engaged in collection is in some instances set down, and in some cases where grain is paid a charge is included on account of compensation for the grain eaten by the rats in the royal treasury.

The *Myothugyi* was also engaged on judicial duties and half the fees derived from the administration of justice had to be remitted to the central authorities. This also appears to have been the case in other courts besides that of the *Myothugyis*. It was recognised moreover that taxation for revenue only was an undue limitation of its possibilities; thus in some townships marriageable boys and girls neglecting their duty had to pay two pieces of flat copper wire.

British Administration.

The British administration differed from that of Burman times in being not an intricate plexus of personal relations but a territorial hierarchy on aquasi-feudal basis; from that of the present day (1913) it was distinguished by the absence of functional differentiation; for a short time, in theory at any rate, the district officer was a man engaged in governing men and not as he is sometimes an official interpreting regulations. But in the period between 1857 and 1867 at teast eight different officers held charge of the district and as one of them was twice appointed (with an interval of more than a year between his successive tenures) there were nine breaks in the personal continuity. Thus even before the stress of material development had been fully felt the change of system is already definitely traceable and it is not surprising to find that in 1868 a complaint was made by the Deputy Commissioner that "the number and bulk of all our annual reports this year have been already doubled [1]".

Ten years earlier however there had been little cause for such complaints as in 1856 the number of letters written by the Deputy Commissioner including formal papers, such as covering letters and summonses to attend a jury was no more than 181[2]. At this time the district officer, his assistant commissioners and township officers

[1] Annual Revenue Report, 1868-69.
[2] District Letter Book, 1856.

(*myoôks*) were all engaged in revenue, judicial and police administration. The *myoôk* had only minor judicial powers. The *myothugyi*, who corresponded to the circle *thugyi* of later days, had no judicial powers and from very early times tended to occupy himself solely in revenue collection. There were frequent endeavours to enforce his responsibility in other matters and so late as 1882 the Deputy Commissioner was instructing them "that they are not only revenue officers but are to help the regular and rural police in keeping down crime [1]."

The *Myoôks* and the *thugyis* were nominated by the Deputy Commissioner subject to the confirmation of the Commissioner. The necessary qualifications were "a good character and ability to read, write, cipher and measure land [2]". The *myoôk* was paid a regular salary, the *thugyi* by commission. The "*gaungs*" were stationed in villages but had no functions except police work and drew monthly pay. The "*Kyedangyis*" were rural policemen ranking below the "*gaungs*" and were put in charge of subordinate hamlets. The *Kyedangyi* was "as a recompense for his trouble exempted from the payment of his capitation tax ....a miserable salary for a police officer." The river-police appear to have been a recent institution in 1855[3].

Personnel.

The district establishment other than the clerical staff consisted in 1855 of—

1 Deputy Commissioner.
1 to 3 Assistant or Extra Assistant Commissioners.
15 *Myoôks*.
66 *Thugyis*.
196 *Gaungs*.
30 peons (two for each *Myoôk*).
6 river police boat crews.

Out of these have gradually developed the whole district staff of modern days Judicial Revenue, Police, Excise, Educational, Sanitary, Engineering and so forth. They also contained the nucleus of other institutions, such as the Chief Court, which have ceased solely to concern the district. In 1861-62 a police establishment was formed and in the same year the district treasury was transferred to the Bank of Bengal. Apparently a Judicial Deputy Commissioner to deal with civil work was already appointed in 1859; in the early sixties the formation of a Customs

[1] Order Book, 1882.
[2] Pegu Manual, 1851.
[3] District Letter Book, 1856.

Department relieved the Deputy Commissioner of a portion of his duty. ; the Jail Department was organised prior to 1870 and in that year an Educational Department was established. Thereafter successive partitions of the district and at the same time devolution of powers to subordinates were designed to relieve the officer in charge and finally the work of the district increased so much that it was divided into the Syriam district and part of the Insein district in 1912.

Area. As first constituted Rangoon district embraced the Burman Province of Dalla and the larger portion of the country known as the "Thirty-two Provinces of Hanthawaddy" to which the island of Syriam had been attached. The two subdivisions roughly corresponded with these two tracts ; there was the Dalla subdivision with headquarters at Twante and later at Yandoon, and the Pegu or Syriam subdivision with headquarters at one of these two places or sometimes in Rangoon. Townships and circles appear and disappear with great rapidity. They are traced, so far as they are of importance for economic history and present administrative purposes, in Chapter XIV and the appendices. In 1866 Bawni circle, a tract of 800 square miles, was transferred to Toungoo district ; in 1873 Thôngwa circle was transfsrred to Tharrawaddy and in 1874 Kawliah circle passed to Shwegyin. In 1875 occurred the first partition of the district on a large scale when the Dalla subdivision (except Twante) passed to the newly created district of Thôngwa. In 1883 Pegu was carved out of Hanthawaddy and Shwegyin. In 1875 the town of Rangoon had been constituted a separate administrative unit and there have been subsequent encroachments as the urban area has extended. In 1895, on the redistribution of Shwegyin district, the Kyauktan subdivision was restored to Hanthawaddy making the area of the district 3,023 square miles ; the original area was more than 10,000 square miles. The former and present day limits are set forth in the small scale map (Appendix I).

List of Deputy Commissioners. The following list gives the names of some of the district officers and the years (if known) in which they held charge :

Sparks	...	...	...	1855—57
Fytche	...	...	...	...
Grant	...	...	...	...
Ardagh	...	...	...	1862—63
Faithful	...	..	...	1863—65
Captain Browne		...	...	1865
Ryan	...	..	...	1865—66

Faithful	...	...	...	1886—87
Lloyd	...	...	...	1867
Davies	...	...	...	1870—72
Spearman	...	...	...	1877
Hough	...	...	...	1882
Street	...	...	...	1883
Parrott	...	...	...	1884—86
Macrae	...	...	...	1889
Todd-Naylor	...	...	...	1898

Of these Colonel Ardagh is the only one who seems to have left his name among the people in general and by this time, as is but natural, it is only a small minority of the older people who remember him. Macrae is remembered in one or two localities. The name of Captain Parrott is remembered as "Sammy Gyi" or "Than Min Gyi" but it was as Settlement Officer that he made the acquaintance of the people. Here and there memories remain of a quasi-mythical "tiger lord"—it is understood that a reference is made to the last, the late Hon'ble H. P. Todd-Naylor.

Criminal and Civil Justice. For some years after the annexation broad principles of equity and common sense rather than nicely-determined points of law formed the basis of judicial administration. Justice has not yet been confined in codes. There were no set forms of law, but the inconvenience of this was soon experienced and in 1856 the Deputy Commissioner points out that "the want of some definite rules for the guidance of subordinate officers is daily more and more felt." [1] As there appeared "little probability of the legislature passing an Act for the administration of justice in Pegu for some time" he drew up a set of rules for the administration of Civil and Criminal Justice, which he submitted for approval. It was not until 1859 that general codes were issued for the whole province.

Until 1859 the Deputy Commissioner of the district exercised both civil and criminal jurisdiction, but in that year a Judicial Deputy Commissioner was appointed to Rangoon. In the amended rules of 1862, after the amalgamation of the three Burman provinces, he was given general jurisdiction over Europeans [2] but a few years later was replaced by the Recorder with jurisdiction within the limits of the town of Rangoon, and an Appellate District Court, supervising civil work within the district. The Recorder loses all connection with Rangoon district when the town is separated from it in 1875, and the Appellate District Court subsequently becomes the District Court of

[1] District Letter Book, 1856.
[2] Pegu Manual, 1865.

Hanthawaddy. Similar differentiation of criminal and civil work was developing in the subordinate courts; in 1870 there were only 14 officials engaged in civil administration, while there were 19 exercising magisterial functions. Since the constitution of the various judicial services the administration of criminal and civil law throughout the district has been conducted mainly by different individuals. A detailed account of the various establishments of the administration in the present Syriam district (1912) is given in Volume B, Part I.

Criminal Administration.

During the early years of the British occupation there were numerous outbreaks of guerilla warfare termed dacoity and even more seriously sustained rebellions against the newly established power[1]. From 1853 to 1856 the inroads of Myat Htun, Shwe Ban and Gaung Gyi defied authority along the western border. They derived part of their strength from Twante, but their strong hold in Donabyu was just outside the Rangoon district. A levy of 700 Karens from the Twante neighbourhood gave assistance in suppressing them; but in 1858 a fisherman of Twante[2] once more rallied people round him for another attack upon the British. He was soon brought to account, and another small rebellion on the Pegu side in 1862[3] caused little serious trouble. From that time onwards there was no organised attempt on any considerable scale to subvert the ruling authority until the annexation of Upper Burma lent new life to discontent.

The report on criminal administration for 1855 is one of the oldest records of the district; the gradual pacification had progressed so far as to leave leisure for turning phrases: "Although crimes of the deepest dye are still not extirpated a reference to the annual comparative statement of heinous crime reported to have been committed during each of the three last years will show that they have greatly diminished, and especially that dacoity although it still exists has lost those features of persecution, cruelty and atrocity which it had acquired during the disorganisation of society during the war and retained for some time afterwards "until the agitated and angry billows calmly and gradually subsided under the breath of peace[4]." The introduction is followed by an analysis of the psychology of murder "whether brooded over in dull misery" or "commit-

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1 Laurie: Burma.
2 British Burma Gazetteer Volume II, page 849.
3 District Letter Book 1862. July.
4 District Letter Book 1856.

ted in the heat of insensate anger ;" but the figures of comparative crime referred to in the introduction are not now forthcoming. In the body of the report there is however an analysis showing that out of a population of 175,185- there were only 1,264 people suspected of concern in the commission of offences ; of these 1,084 were arrested and 628 convicted. It was thought that not many serious offences had been concealed, but in less weighty matters most of the complainants had followed "the immemorial custom of the people, settling their dispute by the arbitration of the village elders." The absence of a formal code was not without executive conveniences, and offences could be punished which would be difficult to specify and more difficult to prove under present conditions of administration. Under the heading "state offences" there is an entry telling how two inhabitants of a village near Rangoon returned home one day stating that the country had been entered by the Russians—evidently greatly interested in the issue of the Crimean War. A petty official arriving from Rangoon nipped the rumour in the bud, and arrested the two men ; "the draft which they had drawn upon the credulity of the villagers was consequently dishonoured, they were sent to Rangoon where a short imprisonment taught them to keep a tighter rein upon their imagination."

There was no material increase in the volume of criminal work until the late sixties. For some time there was an actual decrease ; in 1860 there were 28 dacoities and 14 in the succeeding year, but in 1865 there were three only and in each of the next two years no more than two. The total number of crimes reported also showed a diminution[1] from 1265 in 1855 to 1177 in 1864 and 1084 in 1865.

The number of appeals was disproportionately small ; in 1856 there were only three over the whole district, the conviction being in two instances upheld. According to the annual report for 1865 however there was "no doubt that a considerable number of crimes are concealed from the police"[2]. The dacoities rise from 2 in 1867 to 21 in 1868, but their further progress is best shown by a table :—

Year.	Number of dacoities.	Year.	Number of dacoities.
1867	2	1872	65
1868	21	1873	34
1869	28	1874	33
1870	26	1875	38
1871	118		

[1] Criminal Justice Report.

In 1874 the dacoits who infested Meyinzaya circle killed Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton, the Inspector-General of Police, who had come out against them in person.

Cattle-theft was also rife. In 1871 there were 120 cases and in 1872 there were 295. The Burman population appears to have been chiefly responsible for this form of crime. In early days Madrasis, although numerically insignificant, composed the majority of those brought before the courts at the headquarters of the district. In 1870 there were only 2,707 Burmans tried in Rangoon town as compared with 3,042 Madrasis; in succeeding years however the number of Madrassis tried decreases although it is still large considering their total number, and the number of Burmans increases. In 1873 there were 2,740 tried in Rangoon and in 1874 there were 3,40. The outbreak of dacoity and theft follows immediately upon the increased production of rice and the extension of cultivation; the demand for cattle and the consequent supply of stolen cattle is clearly shown in the statistics.

Hitherto the procedure of the Burman magistracy had been "regulated rather by their ideas of what is right and equitable, than by the codes." Among other difficulties there had been that of inducing them to take vigorous measures for the suppression of crime. But in 1875 they were beginning to learn the necessity for avenging property upon the person, and they are reported already to have recognised "that a fine is not a suitable punishment for all offences"([1]). In 1870 and 1880 further increase in the number of criminal trials reflects the disturbances in Upper Burma, but during the annexation when Lower Burma as a whole was disturbed, Hanthawaddy remained comparatively quiet. This was ascribed to the personal influence of Captain Parrott, who had been first Subdivisional Officer, then for five years Settlement Officer within the district, and finally Deputy Commissioner at the time of the war with Thibaw. The criminal statistics of later years exhibit no abnormal features. A classification of crime from 1901 of Hanthawaddy district as it existed just before the partition of 1912 is given in Table XVII of Volume B. Convictions for grevious hurt, cattle theft, robbery and dacoity, coinage and offences against the Forest Law have increased but there is a noticeable decrease in convictions for bad livelihood. Table XVIII shows the work of the criminal courts

[1] Annual Administration Report, 1875.

for the same area. About half the persons sent up for trial are convicted.

Civil Administration. There is no record of the work done by civil courts until 1864; in that year there were 1,397 original and 54 appellate cases, which next year increased to 1,478 and 85 respectively[1]. Even these few cases however attracted a superfluity of pleaders, and an examination held for the first time at the end of 1865 resulted in the number of third class pleaders being reduced from 82 to 32[1]. The working of the courts had not yet been regulated by code, and regrets are made that the native judiciary should be "lacking in dignity of curial demeanour." This was a point however on which the native judges had their own opinion. According to the Burman custom there had been one subordinate to hear the evidence and another to record it, and frequent orders were found necessary to induce the judges to take down evidence in their own handwriting. The orders appear to have been not entirely without effect for one judge with his own idea of curial dignity hit upon an ingenious compromise. His procedure however was made the subject of appeal, "one of the grounds being that the son of the pleader for the plaintiff recorded the evidence of the plaintiff's witnesses." As the rice industry increased and with it the value of property in land, litigation became more frequent. In 1879 it is reported that "land which a few years ago would have been abandoned as valueless is now the subject of keenly conducted litigation." In 1869 the number of cases reaches a total of 7,791, a more than five-fold increase in five years, and in the following year it passed 10,000.

It is still reported that[2] "the people is by no means prone to litigation" and that "annually more and more cases are settled by arbitration to avoid expenses in the courts." At the same time there are so few appeals as to justify the remark that "the Burmans display great confidence in their own judges," nor did they "exercise a preference between native and English tribunals." The great increase at the beginning of the seventies is mainly due to growing litigation in Rangoon town, but in the district there is also an increase as land becomes more valuable and the western theory of contract finds appreciation. Even within the last few years there have been great developments in the works of civil courts.

[1] Report on Civil Justice, 1865.
[2] Annual Administration Report, 1873—1875.

Statistics of civil justice for the Hanthawaddy district as it existed just before the partition of 1912 are given from the year 1901 in Table XIX, Volume B. There has been a large increase in the number of suits instituted in the district court and in their average value but not in those instituted in the subdivisional or township courts. Litigation seems to have reached a maximum in the period 1904—08 and this may be partly accounted for by the fact that there was a boom in land in the first decade of the present century.

Facilities for the registration of documents were first afforded in 1862, the rules having been passed by the Commissioner of Pegu in the previous year[1]. Henceforward a registration office was to be established at every town within the district which was the headquarters of an Assistant or Extra Assistant Commissioner—the latter was the equivalent of the present "Myoôk." The effect of registration was to give priority to a registered document over one unregistered, and at the time when it was passed it was expected to modify the custom established by the revenue rules of 1855 of prohibiting redemption of land mortgaged with possession after twelve years' undisturbed enjoyment. The general ignorance of this rule had already in 1859 been touched upon by the district court. The people however did not in general avail themselves of the facilities afforded and in 1881[2] the Settlement Officer comments on the number of transactions not reduced to writing, and points out that in the whole Syriam subdivision, covering an area of 2,000 square miles, there had been only 348 mortgages and 98 deeds of sale registered within the year although it was known that money-lenders were "fast getting a firm hold upon the people."

Registration.

At the next settlement the officer in charge remarks upon the practice of registering mortgages as outright sales with the result of deceiving the cultivator into parting with his land and causing considerable discontent.[3] This practise is still common. Of recent years there was a remarkable increase in registration in Hanthawaddy district as it existed just before the partition of 1912. There were only 884 deeds registered affecting immoveable property and 27 affecting moveable property in 1893, while ten years later there were 3,153 and 387 respectively, and less than five years later, in 1904, there were 5,015 and 667. The fees

[1] Pegu Manual, 1865.
[2] Settlement Report, 1880-81, paragraphs 20—22.
[3] Settlement Report, 1897—98, paragraph 47.

increased from 2,383 rupees in 1890 to 30,372 in 1904. Since then non-officials have been appointed Assistant Registrars and a further increase has resulted.

Police Administration. Prior to the advent of the British the police had consisted of an undisciplined force of braves attached to the Governors of the Townships[1]. The new administration retained the system of Township Officers, of whom there were 15 or possibly 16 at first, but reduced their followers to two each. An inferior police establishment consisted of the 66 circle *thugyis*, 168 "gaungs" and the crews of 6 river-police boats[2].

Immediately after the annexation the Township Officers were primarily policemen, but as conditions grew more settled their revenue and judicial functions became predominant. The circle *thugyis* likewise became peculiarly revenue officials, although attempts were made so late as 1882 to bring home to them their general responsibility[3]. There was supposed to be one "gaung" to every hundred houses, but owing to imperfect enumeration the actual number fell far short of this. They looked after one or more hamlets and in the latter case a "kyedangyi" was appointed to the charge of the lesser hamlet; in theory as the name implies he was the largest tax-payer, but as was only natural the influential man made use of his position to shirk an office without emolument or honour, and with many unpleasant duties.

The staff had been in part recruited from members of the Burman administration and these were not in every instance to be trusted. In 1855 the Myoôk of Angyi collected his revenue but went off to Upper Burma without paying it into the district treasury[2]. Others had been imported from Moulmein or Arakan and in such cases difficulty was some times caused by failure to recognise as such a Government official. In the same year as the Angyi Myoôk absconded another official, a Myoôk of Bassein district, was sent up for trial on the charge of having fradulently represented himself to be a *myothugyi*, in Burman times an alternative style for his proper dignity. Besides this system of police based on the village as administrative unit there were the river-police, who manned six boats. A body of this nature had always existed in Burman times, but it was not apparently until 1855 that it was revived. It is of interest as foreshadowing the later system wherein the district and not the village is the unit.

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[1] British Burma Gazetteer, Volume II, page 562.
[2] District Letter Book, 1856.
[3] Order Book, 1882.

Between its first establishment and the re-organisation in 1861 there had been modifications of the district police. Just before it was remodelled the force consisted of :—

(1) Assistant Commissioner, Extra Assistant Commissioners, Myoôks, *Thugyis*, and Peons.

(2) The Village Police ("Gaungs" and "Kyedangyis").

(3) A detachment of the Pegu Light Infantry.

(4) The District Police.

(5) The Municipal Police.

The Pegu Light Infantry was a Burman Regiment raised by Colonel Fytche, who enrolled promising dacoits, a somewhat Burman expedient. The District Police included the river-police and others attached to the district staff as distinct from the village organisation. The Municipal Police were only to be found in Rangoon and Yandoon, possibly also Pegu; they were raised and paid by the Municipal bodies.

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Under the Police Act of 1861 a regular constabulary was organised with a staff of superintendent, of inspectors, drawing Rs. 100 to Rs. 150 a month, of head constables on Rs. 50 and sergeants on Rs. 20. There were three grades of constables drawing repectively Rs. 9, Rs. 10 and Rs. 11.

In Rangoon district there were 350 constables, 12 boat crews and 80 " gaungs." The last were appointed and removed by the Deputy Commissioner, but they were under the orders of the Superintendent of Police and attached to the police-station; they thus lost their connection with the village staff. The Municipal Police were reconstituted as a portion of the district force. The "Kyedangyi" retained his position as a village official. He and the "gaung" both within their respective charges, had to report and make inquiry into "murder, wounding, burglary, theft, tumultuous assemblage, affray and other heinous offences," and to apprehend people who committed such and also people of suspicious character without ostensible means of livelihood. He received no remuneration and difficulty is reported in inducing suitable people to accept the office. The new force was recruited from discharged Myoôks (the number of townships being reduced about this time from 15 or 16 to 8), from the Pegu Light Infantry and from the district police corps.

It was found in Rangoon district that the rates of pay did not attract men of a desirable type. In 1867 the police are reported to neglect excise administration, being

themselves large consumers of opium. In one case a warrant had been issued charging a man with suspicion of bad livelihood, but he effected his escape and possibly his reformation by enlisting in the police[1]. Frequent outbreaks in the jail led to the substitution of Indian for Burman warders, and shortly before 1870 a separate prison department was created. From the early seventies there had been comment upon the numerous resignations in the police, and this is still a difficulty in 1880. The outbreaks in connection with the annexation of Upper Burma led to a further introduction of Indian police. There are few other particulars of interest which Syriam district does not share in common with the rest of Burma. As elsewhere the police of the district were assisted in excise administration by the formation of a separate excise department and shared in the benefits resulting from the enquiry of the Police Commission of 1906 by receiving an increase of staff with better rates of pay. A table showing the present strength and distribution of the police of Syriam district is given in Volume B, Part I.

Re-organisation of the Village Police.

Meanwhile the village police had been re-organised. The "gaung" who had formed a link between the district and the rural administration was abolished in 1891 and the village headman took his place. The "Kyedangyi" was replaced at the same time by the "ten house gaung," who like his predecessor is purely a police official.

Local Administration.

The local administration is similar to that in other districts ; certain local services are rendered out of revenue contributed from local sources. The town of Syriam is separately administered from the rest of the district and is dealt with in Chapter XI, where an account is given of local self-government. The district establishment consists of the administrative staff with the help of the local experts in medicine and engineering and subordinate local officials. Hitherto public works have been constructed and maintained by the provincial public works department; this however has proved unsatisfactory and arrangements are under consideration with the view of considerably extending the powers of the local staff in this respect.

There are seven towns which have been notified under section (3) of the Lower Burma Towns and Village Lands Act. They are administered under this Act and

[1] District Letter Book, 1867, No. 688.

under the Burma Towns Act. These towns are as follows:—

Twante, Kungyangon and Kanbe in the Twante subdivision; and Kyauktan, Kayan, Thôngwa and Thabyegan in the Kyauktan subdivision.

CHAPTER X.

REVENUE ADMINISTRATION.

Introductory.

The Revenue Administration of the Syriam district before the British occupation in 1853 has been described in the previous chapter. It becomes so important from that date that it is convenient to discuss it under the heads Land Revenue, Capitation Tax, etc. The fluctuations of the revenue under these heads since 1901-02 for the Hanthawaddy district as it existed just before the partition of 1912 are shown in Table XII, Volume B. The total revenue shows a slow but very steady increase. The floods of 1905 and 1906 adversely affected it.

Land Revenue Administration until 186[illegible]

Clearly to comprehend the early history of the land revenue administration it is essential to bear in mind two points, firstly, that throughout almost the whole of the Hanthawaddy district there was no practical appreciation of the idea of property in land[1] and secondly that taxation in Burmese times had been a personal impost[2] absolutely unconnected with the occupation of any particular area of land. On the British occupation land revenue became the most important item in the annual budget. Acre rates were fixed and land was taxed on the area under cultivation. It is only natural that great difficulties were experienced on the introduction of this innovation. A large proportion of the land was annually reported as abandoned; in one year it amounted to one sixth of the land cultivated[1] while in one circle personal enquiry by the Deputy Commissioner showed that the abandonment reported between the years 1855-56 and 1860-61 was little more than ten per cent. of that which had actually taken place[2]. At the same time there was a strong tendency for people to be assessed in their place of residence rather than in the place where they cultivated

[1] See Chapter IV.
[2] See Chapter IX.
[1] District Letter Book, 1862.

land[1]. A special rule had to be laid down that land tax should be paid through the *thugyi* in whose circle the land was situated[2]. There is therefore little reason to wonder at the annual complaints that yearly measurements were expensive and untrustworthy. In two successive years the revenue had to be remitted on 14,000 acres which had been "assessed through erroneous overmeasurement"[3].

The uncertainty of the probable demand, the fluctuations, remissions and delays rendered it imperative that a more suitable method of collection should be introduced. Hence was devised the system of settlement of revenue by the issue of leases. These leases gave a right to cultivate land on annual payment of a fixed sum regardless of the area cultivated. It was soon recognised however that the "substitution of leases for a term of years for the annual measurement of land under cultivation" would "tend to confirm the feelings of proprietary right" which it was "desirable to encourage in the cultivator"[4]. Hence from being merely a means of collection it came to be adopted as a policy of development.

The two problems. With the introduction of the lease system begins the differentiation along two lines of the problem facing the early revenue officials. It is recognised that there is an administrative problem, the development of the country, and a fiscal problem, the ensuring for the State of a due proportion of the increasing product. Hitherto development had only been encouraged indirectly by a moderate assessment of the land tax and attention had been chiefly confined to its collection. In the words of Sir Arthur Phayre: "Put low rates on land and people will go on increasing cultivation and new settlers be brought in"[5]. The administrative and the fiscal history will be separately considered.

The development of the country. Summary of measures taken. The security afforded by the British rule, the greater freedom of communication, the resulting rise in the price of rice and the increase in the population all contributed to multiply the area of cultivated land; the incidence of the revenue, bearing more and more lightly as the price of rice rose was another factor. Active measures however were taken by the State to encourage this natural tendency to

[1] See Chapter IX.
[2] Browne's Manual, 1861, Revenue Rule VIII.
[3] Annual Revenue Reports, 1861-62, 1862-63.
[4] See File No. 142—1862 (R.M.-47).
[5] Annual Revenue Reports, 1865-66.

increase of cultivation. The measures taken may be conveniently summarised under two heads :—

(*a*) those calculated to do so directly of encouraging cultivation ;

(*b*) those calculated to do so indirectly by raising the value of the land ;

Under the former head there are included :—

(1) the lease system, already mentioned ;

(2) the grant system, including—

(*a*) waste land grants on a large scale ;

(*b*) small grants or "pottas" ;

(3) the fallow system ; and

(4) the system of occupation rights.

Under the latter head there are included :—

(1) the cheapening of labour by increasing its mobility ;

(2) the cheapening of cattle and improvement in veterinary methods ; and

(3) the improvement of the crops both in variety and quality.

In early days the first essential of development is held to be the introduction and fostering of an idea of property in land ; within twenty years the land-hunger "positively amounts to greed." With the evolution of this stage earlier methods become adapted to qualitative development ; more regard is paid to methods of production and there are systems heralding the introduction of restrictive legislation. No hard and fast line of separation can be drawn between the two periods ; throughout attention has been paid both to obtaining the maximum of produce and to the manner in which it is to be obtained ; naturally in early days it was concentrated on the former, at a later period, upon the latter.

The first settlement of revenue by the issue of leases for a period of years was conducted by Captain Horace Brown in 1859-60. He was succeeded by Lieutenant MacMahon. The objects were :— The lease system.

(1) "to fix rates per acre for the land-tax payable to government on moderately sized blocks of land,"

(2) "to endeavour to obtain the acceptance of ten years' leases." [1]

The "moderately sized blocks of land" were known as "pyengs" or "quengs" (*kwin*) ; it was anticipated that "the assessment by quengs and reduction of the rates on some of them" would "contribute to encourage additional

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[1] Manuscript records, Secretariat file No. 142, 1862.

land being taken up [1]". Captain Browne settled the revenue in ten villages on lands covering 5,337 acres. His successor in 1860-61 fixed rates for 457 cultivated and 54 uncultivated *kwins*, 13,702 acres in all; [2] and in the following year extended his settlement over an additional 25,176 acres.

Both of these adopted the village lease system. "Village-tracts comprising both cultivated and uncultivated but easily cultivable jungle were accurately defined and given over to the villagers to do as they liked without any restrictions or conditions other than the payment of a land rent equal to that on the then existing cultivated area [3]." In the following year a modification was introduced and the leases gave the villagers no exclusive right in uncultivated land to the detriment of the immigrants [3]. The principal inhabitants had to form a committee but all were jointly responsible for payment.

It was feared however that this village leases system might have a "retrograde tendency by shaking the feeling of proprietary right in land [4]." It was found also that the system favoured the growth of "settlement gaungs" or "*kwin* gaungs" who obtained quasi-proprietary rights over land cultivated by other people; while the assessment was not equitably distributed amongst the joint lease holders [5] Individual leases had hitherto been possible [6] but had not been encouraged; as this consideration became predominant however the "*individual farm lease*" was introduced [7]. This was a settlement with individuals of revenue for a certain number of years from 3 to 10. Certain land including the area cultivated by him was mapped and termed the "farm." On payment of the annual revenue he had exclusive rights of extending cultivation over the whole area within these limits.

This system did not prove popular as the area of extension was unduly limited. In 1865 Captain Lloyd introduced the individual lease a modification which he had practised in Toungoo. The individual with whom the revenue was settled had the right to cultivate during the period of settlement any unoccupied land in the circle within which he resided [8]. Under this system the people evinced less

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[1] Annual Revenue Report, 61-2.
[2] Manuscript records, Secretariat file No. 159, 1861.
[3] Annual Revenue Report, 67-8.
[4] Manuscript records, file No. 142, 1861.
[5] Report of Committee on Settlements.
[6] Pegu Manual, 1865.
[7] Annual Revenue Report, 67-8.
[8] Annual Revenue Report, 1867-8.

reluctance to accept settlements and for two or three years more than 100,000 acres were settled annually. Most of them however were for the minimum period allowable; and although 313,312 [1] acres were under settlement in 1869-70 over 100,000 acres lapsed into annual assessment during the ensuing year [2]. By this time the importance of a more accurate survey was becoming recognised; it had been found that when the leases were "advantageous to the people they were unnecessarily disadvantageous to government and when beneficial to government they often acted injuriously for the soil" [2]. The system had failed to take any hold of the country and there were practically no applications [2] for renewal. The abolition of annual measurements with their attendant uncertainty and expense had been the common object of all the settlements [3] but nevertheless these had still to be conducted [1]. It was no longer necessary to encourage the idea of property and cultivation in some cases already encroached upon the village "*upaza*" or [4] residential area. Thus Government ceased to encourage acceptance of the leases and by 1874-75 only 1,416 acres of rice and garden land remained under settlement [1]: Meanwhile surveys had been in progress and in 1875-76 it was reported that as the result of the lease system "the people possessed large holdings which had never been returned in their names, and for which they had never been assessed. Small patches of these large areas, enclosed, were cultivated at pleasure by the people and only on such portions were they assessed in a kind of haphazard way" [1]. It was also found that of the area surveyed during the year, nearly 100,000 acres, more than 25 per cent remained unassessed. It was therefore laid down that no more leases should be offered.

The grant system. The grant system was a device toobtain the co-operation of capital in the development of the country; the waste-land grants were intended to attract the larger capitalist, the small grants to facilitate the spread of cultivation by men of lesser means. The small grants or "pottas" are of the earlier date, being provided for in the revenue rates of 1855, but they do not not attract attention until after the waste-land grants are no longer available.

Waste land grants, 1861. Rules for the grant of waste land in Pegu were issued in 1861. These contained penal clauses entailing

[1] Annual Revenue Report, 1875-6.
[2] Annual Revenue Report, 1870-1.
[3] Settlement Report 1867-8.
[4] Annual Revenue Report, 1875-6 and 1876-7.
[5] Browne's Hand bock, 1861, page 6.

resumption on failure to cultivate [1]. Only seven grants were issued under these rules in Rangoon district, covering an area of 4,349 acres. Simultaneously the question of attracting capital had drawn the attention of the Government of India who passed a resolution advocating the sale and grant of waste land on easy terms. It was considered that there could "be no question of the substantial benefits both to India and England which must follow the establishment of settlers into districts hitherto unreclaimed . . . to direct such improvements as European capital, skill and enterprise can effect in the agriculture, communication and commerce of the surrounding country" [2]. Increased security of fixed property and comparative freedom from the interference of the fiscal officers of the government were also regarded as objectives. In accordance with the terms of this resolution the former rules were abrogated in 1863 in favour of a system of waste-land sales. Grants were made the subject of auction sales at an upset price which varied from Re. 1 to Rs. 4 per 1,000 acres in Rangoon district but was uniform throughout each township. There were no restrictions on development. That was left to the enlightened interest of the grantee and no penalty was stipulated for failure to cultivate.

Waste and sales, 1863.

No capitalist came forward and in 1865 there was a reversion to the grant system; the grantee had to produce evidence of possessing capital but there was no clause enforcing cultivation. There was an immediate rush for land; before the end of the year 7,674 acres had been issued, mostly to Europeans and East Indians; while further application for more than 70,000 acres were registered. The grants under the former rules were also, except in one instance, exchanged for others under those of 1865. By the end of 1870 there had been issued 66 grants covering an area of over 80,000 acres and numerous applications were still pending Even before the promulgation of the more liberal rules of 1865 the local authorities had been representing that the whole system bore hardly on the cultivator and was unremunerative to government. It was found that the grantees in general made no attempt to develop their estates, but used their position to harass the neighbouring cultivators, making them pay for firewood and for pasturage. Where a certain amount of land was brought under cultivation this was effected either by

Waste and grants, 1865.

[1] Browne's Hand-book, page 30.
[2] Pegu Manual, 1865.

alienating small lots to holders without capital, or by enticing tenants of government from the lands which they were already cultivating.

An attempt was therefore made to distinguish between waste lands and unoccupied lands; the former implying only those "available without present or future detriment to existing rights." In practice however this distinction was disregarded, for, as the Deputy Commissioner pointed out in 1868, there were on this interpretation no waste lands in the district; "during the Burmese rule the inhabitants had free access to all forests bordering their paddy land to cut firewood, cane, posts for their houses, etc. (not teak) without paying the Burmese government any revenue . . . these rights have been granted away under the rules of 1865 to mere speculators, government officials, law advocates, clerks, members of the police, etc."

These difficulties were greatly increased by the inaccurate and often fraudulent surveying of their estates, and in 1871 the rules of 1863 for the sale of waste lands and the subsequent rules for making free grants thereof were abrogated. At that time 9,502 acres only were under cultivation on these estates, rather more than 10 per cent. of the whole area granted. The greater portion of this cultivated area was on one of the few estates granted to Burmans. At the time of cancelling the rules resurvey of the grants was authorised. This was considered desirable so as to deal with the fraud and carelessness which were known to have occurred in laying down their boundaries. The resurvey was carried out during 1878-79 and the outstanding disputes were settled by Captain Parrott at the first regular settlement.

The earliest revenue manual contains brief instructions concerning the issue of small grants of land, "pottas", free, from revenue for a period of years. The *thugyi* could grant up to five and the Deputy Commissioner up to a hundred acres. In those times the cultivator paid little regard to his title to his land; he was content to work it. Hence it is not until the appetite for land had been stimulated by the boom of 1865—1870 that the "potta" system attains prominence. In 1869, 5,000 acres previously exempted fell under cultivation and close on 4,000 acres of land were newly granted. Two years later the area falling under assessment was nearly double that in 1869, and by 1875 of 80,000 acres granted in the Pegu division and not yet assessed to revenue, by far the greater portion fell within Rangoon district.

By this time, however, it had been noticed that the "potta" system was subject to defects similar to those arising from the waste-land grants. The inferior officials were tempted to venality and laxity and those in higher positions were unable to devote the necessary time to superintendence. About 1875 the Deputy Commissioner, Major Street, stopped the issue of "pottas" by *thugyis* on account of their misconduct and mismanagement, but this did not expedite disposal of the applications, and in 1878-79 it proved impossible to grant more than 5,000 acres out of 50,000 acres for which applications had been made. Terms of exemption had become a matter of indifference; there was a rush for "pottas" as ten years earlier there had been a rush for waste-land grants. It was impossible to make any satisfactory enquiry into the status of the applicant and even so applications were too numerous to deal with. Prior to the separation of Pegu from Hanthawaddy nearly half the annual applications remained unsatisfied on account of the delay in issuing grants [1]. The subsequent disturbances diverted for a time attention from the land question but in the later nineties, the difficulties and delays again attracted the attention of the Deputy Commissioner, at that time Mr. Todd-Naylor. In Kyauktan subdivision in particular there is reported to be "disgraceful neglect of survey and lack of attention to breaches in the conditions of the grants" [2]. It was hoped for a time that these might be surrounded by better organisation, everything being "previously in train" so that the surveyors might "dash out directly the weather permitted them." These arrangements proved inadequate and in 1905 the "potta" system was suspended.

Fallow hands.

With land so lightly regarded as was the case during the few years after the occupation no one was willing to pay revenue on land which he did not actually cultivate. Colonel Ardagh in 1862 conceived the idea that the annual abandonment of land might be discouraged by levying a moderate rate payment of which would evidence continuance of title over an area left uncultivated. He proposed therefore the imposition of a two anna fallow rate, which he fixed on as one-eighth of the ordinary revenue [3].

This suggestion was ultimately adopted and in 1866 there were more than 6,500 acres of uncultivated land

[1] Annual Revenue Report, 1883-4.
[2] District Correspondence file, 1896—Land.
[3] District Letter Book, 1862.

paying a fallow rate ; in 1871-72 the area had risen to 14,000 acres. By this time a constructive interpretation of fallow was no longer necessary and in the ensuing year an endeavour was made to see that no land received the benefit of the lighter rate which was not lying fallow in the ordinary signification of the term. The area immediately dropped from 14,000 acres to 757. During the next few years the area varies as the interpretation is more or less severe ; and in 1874-75 there are complaints that the people—not unnaturally—find some difficulty in ascertaining its significance. In 1879-80 a common practice of paying fallow rates on land with the object of retaining title is reported and deplored ; while a year later the origin of the fallow system is so little understood that it is supposed to have arisen from "the frequency of disputes among cultivators about the ownership of land, the two anna rate was therefore fixed to preserve for the cultivator his right of possession." This it will be noticed is an exact inversion of the true sequence of cause and effect.

But by this time the fallowing of land had become an obsolete practice [1]. Nevertheless of nominal fallow there continue to be large annual increases ; in 1883-84 nearly [illegible],000 acres are shown as fallow ; in 1884-85 the area amounts to 38,000, and next year to over 40,000 acres. The reason assigned for the increase is that the holdings are larger than the cultivators can work ; but it is more probable that the land was waste land occupied by speculators. The administration was therefore modified so as to preclude all but those actually cultivating their own lands as a means of livelihood from enjoying the benefit of the lower rate. Thus a system originated in the desire to increase development as rapidly as possible becomes adapted to qualitative development in the direction of creating a peasant proprietary. Nothing is on record however to show its suceess as a tactical expedient of this nature.

Occupation rights.

The method of development by permitting the easy accrual of ocupation rights is that deriving most directly from the previous regime, but the necessity for discouraging the abandonment of land led to the introduction of measures making it difficult for any one to become dispossessed of land on which he had once entered, or without actually entering, paid revenue. Unless a cultivator reported formally to the *thugyi* of his circle his

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[1] Settlement Report, 1879-80.

intention to abandon the land on which he was assessed he remained liable to the payment of revenue on it in full whether he cultivated it or not; if land revenue was paid for twelve years the right of occupation did not determine during the next twelve years; if a mortgagee remained in possession for twelve years he obtained an absolute title; if however the occupation was not continuous for twelve years the ownership lapsed whether the land was formally or casually abandoned [1].

It was thought for a time that thus to put a premium on long continued occupation would be a sufficient check against abandonment. This however proved not to be the case and other measures occupied the attention of the district officials; except therefore for a brief period when they were being defined for the Revenue Act of 1907, occupation rights do not bulk so prominently in the revenue reports as might be expected from their importance as a factor in development. The greater proportion of the land has been brought under cultivation by people who had no other right than that of occupation; but it proceeded with the silent regularity of a natural process until increasing limitations on the area available rendered it necessary to take precautions as to the accrual of further rights. As a result of this it was declared in 1907 that occupancy rights should not be allowed to accrue over certain areas, including the whole of Syriam subdivision and a large portion of Kungyangon township. On a more restricted area in the immediate neighbourhood of Rangoon occupation of hitherto uncultivated land is only permitted on payment of a premium. The right to occupy is sold by auction and a price of Rs. 7,000 an acre has been reached for a narrow strip of land covering only a few square yards which had previously been a subject of dispute. The leases now issued are either industrial for which a revenue of Rs. 30 an acre must be paid, or agricultural in which case the annual demand consists of the ordinary revenue.

Indirect measures of development. The measures taken by the State for the improvement of agriculture form an essential part of that branch of land revenue administration concerned with the development of natural resources of the country. During the years the succeeding the occupation labour was scarce and expensive; the live stock consisted only of buffaloes, and these were few in number and the ravages of murrain were annually

[1] Revenue Rules, 1855. Browne's Hand Book, 1861.

deplored; while the crops suffered extensive damage from blight, insects, wild animals such as elephant, pig and deer and perhaps more particularly from rats [1]. Moreover as rice was the only crop for which a market had been organised, other crops were neglected. The first record of attempts to improve agricultural methods occurs in connection with the settlement of 1859 [2] when Captain Brown's commendation of Shan cultivators leads to the suggestion for the establishment of Agricultural Shows [3]. For many years the advantages of these compared with model farms form a subject of discussion. In 1862 tobacco seeds are distributed, the cultivation of cotton, jute, indigo and sessamum is encouraged and a few years later a "Karen potato" apparently the yam (kazun-u) is introduced; and a new variety of rice is imported from Aracan for planting in flooded areas. In 1864 the experiments are centralised by the formation in Rangoon of the Agri-Horticultural Society, which however subsequently developed a long line of less immediate economic importance to the district.

Impr ment agric ture.

In 1861 a grant was made of nearly 500 acres for the institution of a model farm. The grantee however erected a rice mill. During the seventies the debate continues between the comparative merits of agricultural shows and model farms [3] and about 1880 a farm was opened at Kyauktan. This promised well but it was subsequently found that the soil was poor and after three or four years the experiment ended [4]. Attempts were also made to [5] introduce machinery for ploughing and threshing and experiments were made with different kinds of ploughs.

In the early days particular mention is made of the cultivators' knowledge of segregation as a preventive against the spread of cattle disease. Nevertheless the loss of cattle is annually deplored. For instance in one circle, Dawbon, the area of cultivated land falls from 25,831 acres in 1864 to 12,543 acres in 1865, the decrease being assigned to inability to cultivate consequent on cattle disease. This did not however spread to the adjacent circles [6] but the immigrants attracted by the rice trade were unskilled in the management of buffaloes and unused to the surroundings

Vet ary pro men

[1] Settlement Report, Rangoon district, 1867-68.
[2] Manuscript Correspondence, Secretariat records, 1861.
[3] Annual Revenue Reports, 1870-1—1874-5.
[4] Annual Revenue Report, 1883-4—1884-5.
[5] Annual Revenue Reports, 1883-4. 1884-5.
[6] District Letter Book, 62.

of the delta; hence there was an increasing loss of cattle which led to proposals for the institution of cattle-rearing establishments in connection with model farms and for the import of cattle to be sold at cost price to the cultivator [1]. In 1874 a veterinary school was established, [2] but it achieved little towards restoring the former tradition of cattle management, and four years later the people of the district are said "to make no attempt to separate the healthy animals from the unhealthy leaving both of them to take their chance [3]."

Supply of labour. So long however as labour was scarce and expensive it was impossible for development to proceed with due rapidity. This was recognised from the first and steps were taken by the remission of taxation to attract immigrants. Upper Burmans flocked over annually for the harvest but few came to settle and those who did stayed mostly in Rangoon town [4]. It was estimated that for the five years from 1858 to 1862 there were 1,500 immigrants who settled within the district.

With the development of the rice industry consequent on the opening of the Suez Canal the question of attracting an adequate supply of labour became more important. In the early seventies proposals were mooted which resulted in 1876 in the passing of a labour law, under which coolies were imported mainly into Rangoon district, but the protective provisions designed for immigrants under State control were found liable to hamper free imigration. It became obsolete and in 1883 was repealed. When the Act of 1876 proved a failure the alternative was adopted of subsidising immigrants and with such success that the immigrants into Rangoon who had numbered only 16,000 in 1877-78 numbered nearly 40,000 in 1881-82 and over 80,000 in 1883-84. The subsidy was then withdrawn.

Results of measures taken for development. It is not possible to determine the comparative effect of these various measures for the development of the resources of the district but the general results may be summarised. The repeated political disturbances and the prohibition against exporting rice discouraged the spread of cultivation during the last years of Burman rule; one authority states that the area under rice in the district had not exceeded 50,000 acres prior to the British occupation; there is reason however for regarding this as an under-

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1 Annual Revenue Report, 1870-1.
2 Annual Revenue Report, 1874-5.
3 Annual Revenue Report, 1878-9.
4 Annual Revenue Report, 1865-66.

estimate. The figures in the subjoined table show the expansion of cultivation reported during the first five years for which records are available.

Year.				Acreage reported under cultivation.
1853-54	...	...	...	68,056
1854-55	.	...	...	103,678
1855-56	...	...	...	152,523
1856-57	...	...	...	209,278
1857-58	...	...	..	237,183

For the next year or two there was a decline ; the rapid increase and subsequent temporary stagnation seem to reflect the gradual resumption of normal conditions and greater accuracy in obtaining information rather than the result of a stimulus afforded by the British occupation.

The next period of advance is contemporaneous with the inception of the lease and waste land systems. From 263,425 acres in 1860 the area cultivated increases to 371,109 in 1867, an average of 15,000 acres a year. Then again there is a diminution in the rate of expansion and for the next four years it averages only 7,000, so that in 1870 there were rather less than 400,000 acres under cultivation.

In this year commences the boom in rice which accompanied the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869. There were only two rice-mills in Rangoon in 1867 and by 1872 they had increased to seventeen [1]. The area under cultivation rises by increments of about 30,000 acres until in 1874 more land was newly assessed to revenue than had been assessed over the whole district twenty years before and the year after half as much again was added. These are the first two years in which it was possible for the Suez Canal to act as an effectual incentive to the spread of cultivation.

Year.				Acreage reported under cultivation.
1870	...	...	...	397,000
1871	...	...	...	443,960
1872	...	...	...	472,987
1873	...	...	...	500,663
1874	...	...	...	577,833
1875	...	...	...	673,619

In 1876 however 70,000 acres were assigned to the new district of Thôngwa leaving 630,433 acres under cultivation in Rangoon district. Nevertheless the rate of increase continued unchecked. To some extent the annual increment is not accurately reflected in the figures. For instance

[1] Annual Administration Report, 1871-72.

some of the more striking increases during the middle seventies had been partly due to greater accuracy in survey; this is also the case towards close of the next period when Captain Parrott was engaged in conducting the first regular settlement. It is probable therefore that the annual average increase was more regularly distributed than the figures would suggest; between the reorganisation of 1876 when part of Rangoon district went to Thôngwa, and that of 1883 when the remaining area was almost equally divided between Pegu and Hanthawaddy, the average annual increase of cultivation amounted to 50,000 acres.

Year.				Area under cultivation.
1876	...	...	...	630,433
1877	...	...	...	668,131
1878	...	...	...	701,804
1879	...	...	...	754,264
1880	...	...	...	802,629
1881	...	..	...	873,246
1882	...	...	...	930,876
1883	...	...	...	977,321

After the cultivating season of 1882-83 Hanthawaddy was left as the representative of the old Rangoon district; the total area however was less than half what it had originally been and the average area under cultivation was only 378,390. Cultivation still continued to increase rapidly; for ten years there was an annual average increment of 20,000 acres and in 1893-94 the cultivated area amounted to 560,770 acres. Two years later a readjustment of the district boundaries resulted in the re-incorporation of Kyauktan subdivision and the cultivated area rose at a bound to 957,928 acres; subsequently there has been a nearly steady increase. The cultivated area of Hanthawaddy district as it existed just before the partition of 1912 amounted in 1910-11 to close on 1,200,000 acres (*See* Table IV, Volume B). The area under cultivation of crops other than rice has always been, and is still comparatively insignificant. It is not until 1855-56 that there are figures showing the area thus cultivated. In that year there were 5,080 acres and 13,069 in 1860. It is for the latter year that information is first obtainable as to the revenue derived from this source. It then amounted to Rs. 9,251. For a few years there was a set back and then in 1868 the revenue derived from this head suddenly rises to over Rs. 40,000. For two years or more it fluctuates between 50,000 to 70,000 and then again there is a rise,

nearly a lakh being the annual yield just before the separation of Pegu.

Collection of the revenue.

There are no records available as to the means of arriving at the rates of land revenue imposed during the first few years of the British occupation. The Burman system of a charge per yoke of cattle was superseded by the acre rate which in the Tenasserim province had been introduced a few years previously. The rates appear to have varied from Re. 1 to Rs. 2 per acre but to have been uniform throughout each circle. The *thugyi* of the circle had to collect the revenue, the people being assessed according to their place of residence. The acreage can only have been a rough approximation, and many considerations justify the opinion that, despite the nominal collection of land revenue, the Burman system of personal assessment was only gradually superseded.

Land surveyors from Aracan were introduced but there are annual complaints of their dishonesty and incompetence; so measures were taken to induce *thugyis* to qualfiy in land surveying and in 1862 there were fifteen who were either competent themselves to conduct the yearly measurements or had relations who could take their places. Surveyors however had still to be hired at Re. 1 an acre in 55 of the circles and in the same year therefore a school was opened in the district to give instruction in surveying, the attendance being largely recruited from Karens.

The first settlement. Captain Browne and Lieutenant Macmahon.

The first modification of this system was the substitution of the "*kwin*" ("pyeng" or "queng") for the circle as the unit acre of uniform assessment. The *kwin* was an area sufficiently uniform and of so moderate a size as to admit the imposition of a single rate over the whole area. The rates henceforward varied according to the fertility, situation, local prices and facilities for marketing. They were nominally the money equivalent of one-fifth of the gross produce, which in the larger *kwins* of 200 to 300 acres, was determined by five or six selections of about one-eighth of an acre each.

It was anticipated that the rate per acre would on an average be raised by 12½ per cent. and moreover that the "breaking up into *kwins* and reduction of the rate in some of them" would raise the revenue by encouraging cultivation. The division of the country into *kwins* was one of the main objects of the early settlements. The other object, from a fiscal point of view, was to facilitate collection by inducing the cultivators to accept leases of their land for a fixed sum to be paid annually during the period of the

lease. There was also an attempt to encourage biennial payments, this failed. The fixing of the rates was the practical issue of the settlements of Captain Browne in 1859 and Lieutenant MacMahon in 1860; they appear to have varied from As 8. to Rs. 2-8, rising by increments of four annas. In no instance do they seem to have approached the theoretical limit of one-fifth of the value of the gross produce.

The second settlement Captain Lloyd.

The next series of settlement operations took place between the years 1865 and 1868. With regard to fiscal administration they were only important as attempts to improve the methods of collection; there was no readjustment of the rates nor was the country resurveyed. The sole subject in conducting them was to introduce the system of individual leases which has already been described;[1] it was hoped that they would obviate the necessity for annual survey and thereby steady the revenue demand; hitherto this had fluctuated not only with the area under cultivation but with the incompetence, dishonesty and laziness of individual surveyors over whom no effective check was possible. For instance in 1864 and 1865 although the returns for most townships showed a moderate increase in the area under cultivation in two townships no variations whatever are reported. Owing however to the rapid spread of cultivation annual surveys continued to be necessary and in 1869 a new system was devised and introduced.

Period 1867—1879.

Since Lieutenant MacMahon had completed the operations initiated by Captain Browne, survey had been independent of settlement and had been conducted through the agency of the *thugyis* apparently on the basis of the maps prepared by these two officers. It was now determined to institute a revenue settlement department which should be responsible both for survey and settlement; the latter term comprehending both the issue of leases to individual land holders for a period of years and also, where necessary, a readjustment of the rates.

Captain Fitzroy was appointed Senior Settlement Officer. He examined the rates in three townships Syriam, Pegu and one other, probably Dawbon, and found them to vary from six annas to two rupees four annas per acre. These represented so small a proportion of the value of the gross produce that in no case was it necessary to lower them while the survey was in the great majority of cases so inaccurate that it was inadvisable to raise them; the rates

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[1] Page 130.

therefore remained unaltered. He surveyed 1,858 holdings with an approximate area of 46,450 acres, or 25 acres to the holding, but over 80 per cent. of the cultivators refused to renew their leases and the greater part even of those who accepted a renewal were deceived into so doing by wrong inducements made by one of his assistants.

The whole system had already broken down in practice; the machinery of survey was inadequate, the leases were unpopular with the cultivators and unremunerative to the State, the profits of cultivation were rising rapidly and no method had been devised for corresponding readjustment of the rates, and settlement operations were expensive to conduct and practically barren of result. Captain Fitzroy proposed a more elaborate method of annual survey by a trained establishment with a unit of five acre plots shown on a scale of 20 inches to a mile. This suggestion obtained the approval of Sir Albert Fytche then Chief Commissioner but his successor Sir Ashley Eden decided that such detailed accuracy was as yet unnecessary and in 1872 accepted the recommendation of a committee of the most experienced revenue officers in the province that the former system should continue, modified however by the introduction of a regular quinquennial survey. Although therefore the settlement of revenue by the issue of leases continued in theory to be a duty of a settlement officer, in fact he was concerned with nothing beyond survey. Captain Fitzroy "being wedded to his own scheme and impressed. . with its being the only possible effective system" reverted to military duty, but was before long recalled and placed in charge of operations. In one year survey revealed that in some *kwins* half the cultivated land was unassessed to revenue. In 1874-75 the area surveyed amounted to 90,000 acres, showing an increase of nearly 50 per cent. upon the area returned as cultivated by the *thugyis*. In 1875-76 the survey of more than 100,000 acres showed a deficiency of 16 per cent. in the previous returns. The accuracy of these surveys is repeatedly eulogised by Captain Parrott in his report of the first regular settlement. By 1876 it was admitted that the deficiencies were due rather to the inadequacy of the system than to individual delinquencies; the lease system had also been abandoned and henceforward the settlement department in Rangoon district was only employed in the survey of fisheries. In 1879 cadastral survey on the basis of the field as unit was introduced into the Syriam township—the present Kyauktan subdivision—as a preliminary to the first regular settlement on modern lines.

The first regular settlement Captain Parrott 1879 to 1882.

This settlement was conducted by Captain Parrott in the years 1879—82. The rates however had remained unaltered since the early sixties when they had been calculated on the theory that the State was entitled to onefifth of the gross profits. At the time when settlement operations were initiated the share of the State had not been finally determined; ultimately it was decided that the theoretical maximum should be one-half of the value of the net profits, *i.e.*, of the produce remaining after deducting from the gross yield the cost of cultivation and living. This proportion did not differ materially from that taken on the former assumption that one-fifth of the value of the gross produce was due as revenue to the State. Although the actual ratio had not been definitely settled it was certain that a substantial enhancement would accrue, and to avoid the appearance of oppression consequent upon a large and sudden increase a preliminary enhancement of 25 per cent. was ordered in 1880. The soil was graded in various classes according to fertility and the district distributed into different areas according to the facilities for disposal of the produce. The rates arrived at varied between twelve annas and three rupees eight annas; they were supposed to represent the value of over one-third but less than one-half of the net profits.

As a result of these settlements the land revenue was enhanced by about Rs. 2.50,000; but as the district was subdivided during the course of the settlement the actual increase in Hanthawaddy was only about Rs. 1,50,000. This enhancement was chiefly due to the increase shown in the cultivated area by more accurate survey, the *thugyis* having neglected to keep pace with the spread of cultivation since the surveys by Captain Fitzroy's party in the middle of the seventies. In round numbers 100,000 acres were added to the area previously shown as being under cultivation in Hanthawaddy district. Practically the whole increase was derived from the deltaic portions of the district south of Rangoon. North and west of the town the country is hilly in some localities, and in others liable to inundation; hence the existing rates had in certain neighbourhoods to be reduced and in the year 1881-82 when the present Twante subdivision of Syriam district and the Kyaukchaung circle of Hmawbi township of the present Insein district were brought under settlement there was effected a reduction of the annual demand by over twenty thousand rupees.

Several causes, of which probably the most important was the famine in Bengal had combined to raise the price of

unhusked rice in 1878 and 1879. During the year 1880-81 it fell by 13 per cent. Despite the moderation of the enhanced rates it was represented that, taken together with the increase of area due to more accurate survey, they pressed unduly on the people. The abolition of the favourable rate on land left fallow had coincided with the settlement. There was at this time practically no land left fallow in the ordinary course of husbandry but the regulation affected the pockets of those who speculated by obtaining possession of uncultivated land with a view to selling it at a future date. A powerfully backed petition based on the twofold considerations of a fall in price and the abolition of the privilege of fallow resulted in a diminution of the rate on the lands which had been assessed most highly. The settlement reports of Captain Parrott are full of information of economic and historic value.

Period 1880—1897.

Since the conclusion of the regular settlement the revenue has been assessed in the ordinary manner on the basis of maps prepared by trained surveyors, who have, in theory if not in practice, annually brought up to date the maps furnished by the settlement department. It has however proved necessary to supplement these men from time to time by special survey establishments. In the course of the nineties the introduction of the village system paved the way for the disappearance of the circle *thugyi* in favour of the headmen of villages who now collect the revenue in those circles where the change has been effected. In the circles of which a *thugyi* is still in charge the revenue surveyor is his assistant and is appointed by him; in the others the revenue surveyor is a subordinate of the land records department of the district.

The first revision settlement.

The settlement was revised by Mr. McKerron between 1897 and 1899; the imposition of the new rates was again preceded by an enhancement of 25 per cent. over part of the district. The proportion of the yield due to the State which had been assumed in 1860 to be one-fifth of the value of the gross produce and in 1880 one-half of the value of the net profit, was now taken as one quarter of the value of the net produce remaining after deducting from the gross produce the cost of cultivation only. The area dealt with amounted to over 2,000 square miles and included little less than a million acres of cultivated land. A different tract was dealt with each year and in the first the settlement officer had to fix the rates on over 440,000 acres of cultivated land. It was therefore possible to do little more

than re-adjust the rates and although there had been great local variations in the fertility of the soil practically no re-classification could be attempted. Greater minuteness however was effected in adjustment of the rates by grouping similar *kwins* in fertility tracts based on the original soil classification.

After this revision the rates ranged between Rs. 4-8-0 and Re. 1-8-0. According to theoretical calculation of the profits based on the statistics then collected they rarely touched the permissible limit of one quarter of the value of the net produce and in some cases were considerably lower than this proportion. The resulting increase of revenue amounted to rather more than Rs. 6,76,000 and the enhancement was again heaviest in the deltaic tract where it reached 40 per cent. of the previous demand. Since the first revision there have been no administrative changes of importance except the gradual supersession of circle *thugyis* by village headmen as revenue collectors.

The settlement of 1907—1910. The second revision settlement in the Syriam district was carried out by Mr. Arbuthnot in 1907—1910. The share due to the State was again taken to be a quarter of the value of the net produce, *i.e.*, the value of the crop less the cost of its production. The cost of living was not deducted before taking the quarter. Mr. Arbuthnot dealt with the area which became the Syriam district in 1912 containing an occupied area of 1,286 square miles. The whole of the area was classified under a new system. The rates proposed were accepted by the Local Government except those for rice land which were raised in every case by four annas per acre. The financial result was an increase of Rs. 4,84,000 or 19·23 per cent. The new rates took effect from the 1st of July 1912 and will remain in force for twenty years.

Table XIII, Volume B, shows the slow growth of the land revenue from 1901-02 in Hanthawaddy district as it existed just before the partition of 1912. The floods of 1902, 1903, 1904, 1905, 1906, 1909 and 1910 mostly account for the variations in the remissions.

Personal taxation, capitation-tax. In Burman times a poll tax or family tax had always been imposed on subject races like the Karens and the Yabeins and even the revenue paid by the Burmans and Talaings had partaken of the nature of a personal impost. The Company on assuming charge of its new territories found it convenient to continue the system, and imposed a capitation-tax, but continued for some years anxiously to consider its incidence lest it might prove a drag on the development of the country. The rates at first imposed

were lenient and they were only raised by gradual degrees as the district proved its ability to bear them. Caution was the more necessary as the impost was regarded as a tentative measure to be abolished as other resources become increasingly productive. The first assessment is uncertain but by 1860 two rates had become established, Rs. 4 and Rs. 2 per married man, the lower rate being paid in the less developed areas. Half the amount paid by a married man was paid by a bachelor. The rate of Rs. 4 was raised to Rs. 5 in towns, but it was replaced about 1862 by a " land rate in lieu of capitation-tax, Europeans and many settlers from India objecting to a poll tax". Between 1860 and 1865 the rate was raised to Rs. 5 in the interior: the actual year in which the alteration was effected seems to have been 1862, the Deputy Commissioner having in the previous year suggested it as a suitable alternative for the extension of income tax. The area from which was collected the lower rate was also, as time went on, restricted and in 1865 the full assessment was everywhere imposed except in portions of the circles of Htandawgyi, Pongyi, Thônzè and Okkan. The rate was subsequently raised in 1870 to Rs. 5 throughout the district.

Exemption. In order to minimise any prejudicial effect which the imposition of capitation-tax might have on the course of development, measures were taken from very early days to exempt immigrants from payment. It was hoped that this might encourage the permanent settlement of "Burmese lads who flock over here at harvest time to earn a few rupees and go back again." There were difficulties however as regards granting exemption and in 1861 "not a single settler was exempted." Increase to the revenue resulting from new settlers was regarded as " especially pernicious . . . . . . It postpones indefinitely the future prosperity of the country." Thenceforward exemption passes annually issued; for the first few years they number about 250 rising to 500 at the end of the decade but again in 1874 failure to issue exemption passes during the previous year is alleged as the cause of an apparent decline in the receipts. At the end of the seventies there is another rise in the statistics of immigration. Subsequently the period of exemption was restricted to two years instead of five, and since the annexation of Upper Burma the beneficiaries have been, in Hanthawaddy district, mostly natives of India. This exemption, however, has been due rather to negligent assessment than to intentional omission with a view to encourage immigration. In 1905, for example, no

instances were recorded of exemption on this account. At present the annual average number of people exempted is about 9,000 some escaping on the ground of old age and poverty (usually the former); others because they are monks or teachers.

Collection. The capitation-tax was always collected by circle *thugyis* until the appointment of village headmen, who have since collected it in those circles where *thugyis* have been abolished. Rupees 1,68,950 was the demand in 1855, the first year for which figures are available, and this had increased by 1860 to Rs. 2,06,501 of which Rs. 23,528 was paid in Rangoon town alone. During the two succeeding years the increase in the demand reflects the rise in the population and in 1863 the incidence over the whole district outside Rangoon town rises to more than Re. 1 per head of the estimated population. This was the first year in which the collections in Rangoon district had exceeded those in Bassein, for although it was "the most advancing district in the province", owing to the laxity of capitation-tax administration "this had not hitherto been observable in the returns." In the same year capitation-tax ceased to be collected in Rangoon town, a land rate being introduced instead. The amount collected rose until 1875 when it reached Rs. 4,23,598 and there was also a slight rise in the incidence per head, indicative presumably of juster accommodation in the machinery of collections. Thôngwa was then separated from Rangoon reducing the assessment to Rs. 3,31,708 but there was a resumption of steady growth and by the time that the district was again divided in 1883 nearly 4,00,000 was collected annually. This sum was almost exactly halved after the division had been effected but since then there has been again a rapid growth, the collection for 1895 prior to the absorption of Kyauktan reaching Rs. 2,43,395 and for the succeeding year Rs. 3,67,472. Since then there has been almost steady increase as is shown by Table XIII, Volume B, which gives statistics for the Hanthawaddy district as it existed just before the partition of 1912. The increases of remissions and the consequent decreases in collections in 1905-06 and 1907-08 are probably mostly due to the disastrous floods which occurred about that time.

In the early eighties a tendency is noticed towards increasing difficulties of collection; special mention also is made of the comparative neglect to assess and collect dues from natives of India. This latter feature becomes more

and more noticeable but within the last few years great success has been achieved by appointing Indian officials to collect the tax from alien residents. In the year 1906-07 the increase was mostly due to stringency in the collection of the tax from Indian coolies. Over Rs. 12,000 was obtained in Syriam alone by the expedient of entrusting to the Burma Oil Company the collection of the tax from their employees in that town: an estimate may be obtained of the number previously escaping taxation from the fact that there was also an increase in the amount collected through the usual channels.

Land r in lieu capita tion-ta

While Burmans have been assessed to capitation-tax various expedients have been adopted for imposing equivalent taxation on the members of other communities. Of these the land rate was the earliest and has proved the most enduring. It was a tax imposed upon ground covered by buildings in towns where there resided numerous non-Burmans. It was levied in Rangoon, Twante (Dala), Yandoon and Pegu in the early sixties; on the introduction of income-tax it was lowered by one-half but in 1865 it was again raised to three quarters of the original rate as one of the methods adopted in compensation for the loss of revenue caused by the abolition of income-tax. In 1864-65, the year before raising the rate the demand amounted to Rs. 23,684 and in the subsequent year to Rs. 41,745. When Yandoon, Pegu and Rangoon passed in succession under separate administration the income from this source diminished. In Twante also the land rate was replaced by capitation-tax and it no longer forms an item in the revenue of the district.

In-co tax a its su tutes.

Income-tax was intro duced in 1860, and all incomes over Rs. 200 became liable to taxation, except those of officers in the Army and Public Works Department. In the first year the demand in the Rangoon town amounted to just under Rs. 75,000, but Rs. 10,000 had to be remitted and nearly Rs. 2,000 more apparently could not be recovered. It was also levied in Yandoon, Twante and Pegu the collections amounting to Rs. 2,920, Rs. 226 and Rs. 1,592 respectively. Incomes below Rs. 500 were treated more leniently than those exceeding that limit, and in the next year a glimpse of the distribution of income in the district is possible, from returns which show the amount collected at the two different rates. Incomes below Rs. 500 paid Rs. 3,401 in Yandoon, Rs. 223 in Twante, and Rs. 1,154 in Pegu; while those above Rs. 500 only paid Rs. 80 in Yandoon and Rs. 99 in Pegu. After this year incomes

below Rs. 500 escaped taxation and the residents in those smaller towns paid capitation-tax at Rs. 5 instead of Rs. 4 as in the surrounding villages; income-tax therefore ceased to be assessed except in Rangoon town. In 1864-65 the yield of income-tax was only Rs. 1,10,000 and, as has been shown above, even from the first there had always been difficulties in the collection; Icome-tax was therefore abolished.

The resulting loss of revenue was minimised by raising the rate of land-tax in lieu of capitation-tax; there was also an increase in the capitation-tax on account of income formerly assessed to income-tax, and a new tax, the license-tax, was instituted. In 1865-66 the last yielded over Rs. 60,000, and next year the demand amounted to Rs. 68,310. Remissions were necessary however to the extent of Rs. 32,317 and in 1868 a fresh substitute was devised, the "certificate-tax" on "trades and professions." This only yielded 75 per cent. of the tax which it replaced and in the succeeding year income-tax was once more introduced. In 1870 the rate of assessment was raised to 3½ per cent., but a decrease of Rs. 26,515 resulted. Next year the rate was again lowered to one per cent. and the minimum assessable income was raised from Rs. 500 to Rs. 750. Despite this liberality the total receipts only diminished by one half. In 1872-73 the minimum was further raised to Rs. 1,000, and in 1873 this "distasteful-tax was abolished." It had again to be imposed after the lapse of a few years, all incomes between 500 and Rs. 2,000 being assessed at 4 pies in the rupee, and those over that amount at 5 pies. But the area of imposition was comparatively restricted. Previous to 1905 it had only been assessed in certain townships; in that year however it was extended over the whole Hanthawaddy district and the collections rose to Rs. 22,279. Just before this extension of the area of collection the minimum income had been raised from Rs. 500 to Rs 1,000.

Table XIV, Volume B, shows the fluctuations of the revenue from income-tax for the Hanthawaddy district as it existed just before the partition of 1912 from the year 1901-02. There has been little variation since 1906-07.

Administration of fisheries. The administration of the fisheries of the Syriam district is less important in comparison with that of other sources of revenue than was formerly the case when the revenue from land and other sources was small. In the revenue records of 1704 and 1803 mention is made of fishery licenses at rates varying according to the implement employed.[1]

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[1] Sittan.

From Dr. Day's account[1] and the early district records[2] it appears to have been the custom for men termed *inthugyis* to rent stretches of water from the State over which they had sole right to capture fish for sale. The *inthugyis* in some cases seem to have held by hereditary tenure. The extent to which others possessed rights to fish for home consumption free of any payment is a matter of some doubt.

Although the Burman practise was continued in some cases, the principle of annual renting by auction to the *inthugyis* was introduced. Between 1855-56 and 1859-60 the revenue from fisheries in Rangoon District increased from Rs. 1,40,670 to Rs. 2,00,441. But the competition consequent on annual letting seems to have resulted in the poorer inhabitants finding it difficult to obtain their annual supply of fish; the auction system was moreover thought to act as an incentive to gambling and in the revenue rules of 1861 it was prohibited. Another objection to the system of annual leases was its failure to encourage improvements on the part ofthe lessees.

The latter difficulty was emphasised by Captain Browne in the report on his settlement operations in 1859, and the Chief Commissioner ordered that henceforth all leases should run for a term of five years. In 1861 it is reported that "the way in which these fisheries is leased is now unexceptionable. They are let to people who reside in the vicinity, the rents being agreed on between them and the Deputy Commissioner. Some of them have been leased for a term of years, which saves expense and also induces people to undertake works for the improvement of the fisheries." This system remained in force for some years. The lessee, the *inthugyi*, was a local man, and was regarded as trustee of the fishery on behalf of the inhabitants of the locality. As a further precaution against oppression it was laid down that any person in the neighbourhood of the fishery could "collect dried fish or make *ngapi* . . . . to obtain fish for home consumption." But the system proved unworkable. The fisheries were valuable property; their working required the exercise of nice discretion and thorough knowledge. It was intended that they "should not be made unprofitable to the workers nor too common. And considerable judgment was required to have none but men who worked harmoniously together." The district officials were unsufficiently acquainted withlocal conditions and fishery affairs.

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[1] Report, 1869.

[2] Annual Revenue Reports, 1861-62, 1867-68.

Although frequent complaint is made of the numerous appeals, this procedure was so lengthy and expensive that it was only possible in a small proportion of the cases where cause for complaint existed. The *inthugyi* had an opportunity which he regularly used of "oppressing the sub-lessees and those living on the fishery, and dependent on it for food, clothing, in fact their all in all." The Deputy Commissioner cites an instance "anything but satisfactory" —if it is at all credible—where the "people complained in a body that they had not touched *ngapi* for three years." It was attempted to remedy this by inserting in the lease the names of all the lessees of the fishery; "previously only the name of the *inthugyi* having been entered." The choice of co-lessees seems to have been arbitrary; in one instance an actor and a stall-keeper become for the time being fishmen, at least in name. The *inthugyi* retaliated by including fictitious names as those of co-applicants for the fishery, and a case is on record where one of the names included proved to be that of his elephant. It is probable therefore that little cause existed for the apprehension expressed by the Commissioner that in Rangoon district "too many people were told off to work a fishery." In order to facilitate administration several of the fisheries were split up. In 1865 there were only 243 fisheries, of which 73 were leased for one year only, and 170 for longer periods. In 1867 there were 283 in all, no more than 46 being leased for a single year, and 237 for longer periods. It will be observed from these figures that the principle of granting long periods of lease had been adopted.

But the enquiry held by Dr. Day in 1869 proved conclusively the disadvantage inherent in the system of "letting by favour" as he terms it. Prices were rising, lessees profiting, and subordinate officials obtaining undue perquisites. Nor were the fisheries being improved as a result of the long lease and favourable terms; while the State was losing a large amount of revenue. From 1860 to 1868 there was practically no increase in the income thus obtained; in fact it was less in the latter year than it had been in 1861. During the last two years of the decade when the breakdown of the system was generally recognised, and new methods tentatively resorted to there was a rapid increase in the revenue:—

Year.	Revenue. Rs.
1860-61	2,14,388
1861-62	2,20,695
1867-68	2,20,424
1869-70	2,60,657

At the close of the last year the administration was reorganised. Hitherto it had been attempted to regulate the industry in favour of the producer; it was henceforth the consumers' interests which were most considered and policy was directed towards placing a large supply upon the market at a cheap rate so far as was consistent with the ultimate welfare of the fishing property. Fisheries were let by public auction to the highest bidder for a term of years. "Letting by auction" took the place of "letting by favour," but the old restrictions are still traceable in the provisions requiring that bidders shall be residents of the locality in which the fishery is situated. A year or two later certain waters were thrown open for free fishing and no restriction was placed on angling with a rod and line. In the rules also precautions were taken for the preservation of the fishery. Under the new system there was a rapid increase in the revenue. In 1872-73 it reached Rs. 3,18,802 and despite the transfer of two circles in the interval to other districts it was still over three lakhs in 1875 when the Thôngwa district was created.

To Thôngwa, however, were assigned the most important fishery areas, and there is a further decline from Rs. 1,08,057 in 1881-82 to Rs. 71,941 in 1883-84, when the Pegu district was first formed. It is no longer possible nor necessary to trace the course of fishery administration in any great detail. From 1872 onwards there are occasional references to friction between fishing interests and agriculture and these are still traceable in the settlement reports, but in Hanthawaddy fishing has always had to give way to agriculture. At the end of the seventies the fisheries were surveyed when the settlement department ceased to be concerned with survey, but the maps prepared were unsatisfactory, consisting of imaginary lines and showing no landmarks. At settlement further opportunity was taken of circumscribing the fisheries and abolishing those of less importance. Then for a long time they remained so long insignificant as to attract no great attention, but in 1907, mainly as the result of Colonel Maxwell's work on the delta fisheries, interest was revived and an examination showed them to be in a "far from satisfactory condition."

Little attempt had ever been made to demarcate them, or prevent encroachments, nor did the implements in use correspond with those permitted in the licence. In this year a special enquiry resulted in the subdivision of the 28 of the larger fisheries into 96 smaller ones and an increase in the revenue.

At present (1912) in the Syriam district there are no leased fisheries in the Kyauktan subdivision, and only one in the Kungyangon township of the Twante subdivision. The rest are all in the Twante township. A list of the leased fisheries is given in Volume B, Part I. Table XIII of the same volume shows the nearly steady increase of fishery revenue since 1901-02 for the Hanthawaddy district as it existed just before the partition of 1912.

Methods of Fishing.

There have always been three branches of the fishing industry, one, the "*damin*" fisheries worked by traps at sea, two conducted on inland waters, of which "tank" or "*in*" fisheries worked with traps or fixed obstructions are the most important, and net fisheries the less valuable.

The sea fisheries are the most arduous and for the actual worker the least profitable. At the end of the sixties it was estimated that a capital of Rs. 500 was necessary for the use of a boat, but a more moderate estimate puts the necessary apparatus including boats and traps at Rs. 300. For every Rs. 100 borrowed the fisherman had to repay Rs. 400 baskets containing 4,000 viss of fish, which was held to represent a return of 300 per cent. on the money borrowed. At the commencement of the season the men went to the fishing grounds and put up their stakes and traps (*hmyons*) made of bamboo basket work. This however was no guarantee of returning with a profitable catch. It is reported that "the grounds are visited daily by adverse winds, etc., and the boat and crew carried out to sea never to be heard of again." Under these circumstances there is no matter for surprise at the industry being "conducted by needy men on capital borrowed at high rates." Madrasis at the present time form a considerable proportion of those engaged upon this industry. In 1867 the fishing was heavily taxed, each trap, of which there would be fifteen to a boat, having to pay Rs. 4, the same sum being levied on every boat employed, but in 1874 the rates were lowered and levied on the boat without restriction on the quantity of apparatus used. This measure resulted in a considerable increase in the total tax derived.

The inland fisheries required a much smaller capital It was estimated that for Rs. 30 a boat could be obtained capable of lasting for six or seven years, the nets would cost Rs. 15, for salt Rs. 30 would be paid, while Rs. 2-8 was the license fee. The produce for a season was estimated at 120 baskets containing enough fish to make 3,600 viss of *ngapi* which would sell at Rs. 10 per hundred viss. A caution however is added against accepting the estimate.

as accurate, owing to the difficulty of calculating with any exactness the profit or losses of the labouring classes and especially of fishermen. The main varieties of implements employed together with the license fee are shown in the subjoined table.

	Rs.
Paikkyi	35
Paikkyido	30
Paikwunbu	30
Hmyawbaik	25
Do—small	20
Paikseik	10
Ngathalaukpaik	5
Ngazinpaik	5
Letpadanpaik	5
Metkun	3

The rates at that time varied from district to district, and the above were peculiar to Rangoon where the fees ran slightly higher than elsewhere.

The methods of tank fishing are described in Dr. Day's report.

Salt-boiling.

Prior to the British occupation the usual rate of salt revenue seems to have been four annas per earthen pot; in practice however the rate was raised by the imposition of transit dues. The salt industry at that time was perhaps as important as any in the district. Large stretches of country now laid bare for cultivation had been worked for salt before they relapsed into forest after the Burman conquest, and the numerous remains of tumulus-like kilns indicate the existence of large villages formerly employed in this industry. It was still of comparative importance in the early days of British rule. In 1856 Rs. 32,550 was collected on account of salt; the revenue derived from capitation tax, from land and from fisheries were all approximately equal, and the revenue derived from each of them was only about five times larger than that derived from salt. Now the salt revenue is less than one per cent of that derived from rice. There have been three methods of salt boiling but only one is still practised. The method of filtration from saline earth gave the best product and required least capital. Salt thus produced was known as "*tsit-sa*." Saline earth was collected and placed on a sieve of thatch (*thetke*); the brine produced was led through a conduit into an iron cauldron, where it was boiled. This method survived along the sea coast so late as 1880.

This was a domestic method but the other obsolete method was that practised on a large scale before the occupation, of which traces still remained in the ruined kilns and broken pots which are such common objects in the deltaic portions of the district. Brine was collected as at the present day and transferred to earthen pots, ranged tier on tier in an oval kiln. The fuel was piled up inside the kiln and the salt crystallised out by distilling off the water. The people still talk of the quantity of labour necessitated by this method and such names as "*thatekwin*" [1] in the neighbourhood of former works show that the industry was organised on capitalist lines more than a hundred years ago.

The third method, that employed at the present day, is known as the "Burman" method, in distinction from the "Talaing" method in which pots were used. It is a combination of the two foregoing methods. Brine is collected as in the kiln system, but it is distilled in iron cauldrons. During the high tides of the first four days of the waning of the moon salt water is run from the creeks and rivers into small canals which form a square moat round the centre of operations. Enough salt water is collected to last until next flood tide. From these canals it is run into the "*hlans*" or drying tanks, enough for two days being let in on each occasion. These drying tanks are square embanked fields with a bottom of salt mud and are arranged in a series two deep all round the outside of the works; the salt water remains for two days in the outer series, exposed to the heat of the sun, then it is passed on to the inner series of tanks and a fresh supply admitted from the canals into the outer series. After another two days the process is repeated; on this occasion water from the inner series of tanks passes into a third series, known as "*gayets*," a surviving Talaing expression. These resemble the tanks used in the former stages but have a bottom of hard mud, and are shallower, thus preventing absorption of the brine and the iuflux of less concentrated solution from the earlier tanks. After another two days it is passed into a reservoir and stored for boiling. These operations can only be carried on during the dry weather; but the brine in the reservoir is not affected by rain below a depth of nine inches. It is drawn off from a conduit near the bottom so that however much it may rain the brine which passes from the reservoir remains concentrated. From here it passes as

[1] *Thate* means a wealthy man or capitalist.

required into the furnace room storage tank, from which it is drawn up as from a well in kerosine-oil tins, and poured into iron cauldrons which are usually four inches deep and six feet by four in area with a capacity of about fifty-six gallons. Here it is cooked for about two hours. If the temperature is ill regulated and the boiling proceeds too fast flowers of sulphur appear upon the surface. When the salt is made it is shovelled into the salt room through an iron grating (devised so as to prevent illicit extraction) which can only be opened in the presence of the Salt Inspector. The requisite capital is large; for building alone Rs. 500 to 600 is needed, and the cauldrons of which there are usually four, cost Rs. 50 to Rs. 75 a piece. The industry is carried on throughout the year. Some of the factories have passed into the hands of professional money-lenders, and the rest are heavily indebted, the average indebtedness being estimated at Rs. 2,000.

Salt Administration.

At the British occupation transit dues were abolished but the rates were altered; an earthern pot holding six gallons was assessed at eight annas and an iron cauldron according to capacity at the same rate with a minimum of Rs. 5. Until about 1870 the industry was fostered, and it was expressly laid down that a large revenue from salt was undesirable in a country where there existed a capitation tax. The duty on imported salt however was reduced from eight to three annas a maund, and this hampered the local industry. In 1862 the revenue had reached Rs. 41,312 but it subsequently declined until in 1865, when the effect of foreign competition is first noticed, no more than Rs. 21,050 was received. In the following year receipts declined further still to Rs. 13,338.

But this was probably in great part due to faulty methods of collection. The tour of the Deputy Commissioner made in 1867 for settlement of the land revenue led to more active administration. He had noticed that many of the salt-boilers were well to do and that the industry was not declining so rapidly as had been believed. The revenue rises to Rs. 34,997 in the following year, the number of pots which had been returned as 12,285 rises to 36,902, and of cauldrons from 826 to 1,468. It was estimated that 62,000 tons of salt, roughly 1,700,000 maunds, were manufactured in the district, probably more than twice the amount manufactured ten years previously, while in the same year there is an enormous increase in the imports of salt from abroad. At this time salt was produced in five townships, Angyi, Pyapôn, Syriam, Zwebon and Pegu.

By 1870 [1] however a certain suspicion attached to the industry of salt boiling, as the importation of salt would "bring that article more under control for fiscal purposes," and set free labour for agriculture. Its extinction was expected and desired as an industry deterring people from their "legitimate employment as cultivators." The competition of imported salt and the increasing scarcity of fuel both tended to reduce the output, and in 1870-78 it was estimated at less than 7,000 tons and in 1880 at less than 6,000 tons. In 1882 the revenue was fixed at 3 annas a maund on the output, and the yield fell to 3,000 tons in that year and to little more than 1,000 tons in the year following. In 1884-85 [2] it is reported that salt boiling is no longer carried on except at Tamanaing, and the total yield is about 800 tons. Despite the decrease in the local industry it is estimated that the average annual consumption is 23lb. per head. Shortly afterwards the suppression of the industry in Hanthawaddy was projected, but the occasion was deemed unsuitable. Since then there have been various alterations of the rate which it is unnecessary to trace in detail. In 1902 it was enhanced to 12 annas a maund, but the salt-boilers objected and a reduction to 8 annas was effected.

As the result of the pressure of foreign competition the industry has had to be established on a large scale and maintained throughout the year. It only servives in Tamanaing, its old stronghold, and the place naturally adapted for it. Elsewhere much land has become unremunerative to salt boilers, but is useless for rice. Some of the land is by now good rice-land, but is expensive to bring under cultivation. The price of Burman salt has apparently risen from Re. 1 to Rs. 1·25 per ten viss; this is considerably higher than the retail rate in Rangoon. The fluctuations in the salt revenue since 1901 for Hanthawaddy as it existed just before the partition of 1912 are shown in Table XII, Volume B. There seems to be a tendency to decrease. Statistics of outturn are given in Table IX.

Excise revenue. Liquor.

For the first few years of British rule no information is forthcoming as to excise administration, except that in 1855-56 the total revenue from liquor and opium amounted to Rs. 72,680. This did not include excise revenue derived as customs duty. The administration of drugs and liquors [3] has proceeded upon different lines, although the guilding

[1] Annual Revenue Report and Annual Administration Report, 1870-71.

[2] Annual Administration Report, 1884-85.

[3] Abkari Rules, 1866.

principle in both cases has been "to raise the greatest possible amount of revenue from the smallest possible consumption."

The administration [1] of the excise on spirituous and other liquors has however varied greatly in detail from time to time. For some years it was endeavoured to restrict the consumption of intoxicating liquors to Rangoon town, distillation was forbidden elsewhere, and sale only permitted at stations where there was resident an officer of the Commission or an Inspector of police. The sale of the juice of the toddy-palm was permitted at the headquarters of each subdivision [1]. By 1864 it had been accepted as advisable to "facilitate the legal drinking of toddy and so to prevent the people hankering after spirits and opium." Accordingly 34 licenses were issued for the sale of toddy in the interior of the district with the immediate effect of raising the value of toddy trees which had not previously been worth appropriation.[2] The revenue derived from leasing toddy trees [3] rose from Rs. 2,550 to Rs. 8,832 in a single year. It did not however have the desired effect; passes were issued for the carriage of liquor into the country, and this facilitated illicit sale, while the machinery for enforcing the regulations was inadequate; in 1865 only 12 cases of infringement of rules being brought to light. Illicit stills were also "established and worked all over the country." [4] In 1871 therefore modifications were introduced; it was admitted that consumption of spirits had spread beyond the limits of the Town, and licenses were issued for distilleries which should meet the demand.[5] Two years later the system was further modified so as to bring it "more in accordance with the method of managing excise in Bengal."[6]

In 1865-66 for the first time figures are available as to the revenue derived from liquor. In that year it yielded Rs. 1,38,581, rather less than half the total brought in by excise administration in the district. Until 1868 it increased, but then a substantial fall showed the necessity for the changes of 1870-1872. Thereafter it is noted that there has been "a great improvement in the revenue received." [7] Only the total receipts, both from drugs and liquor however

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1 Regulations, 1861 and 1862.
2 Abkari Report, Rangoon district, 1864-65.
3 Annual Revenue Report, 1865-66.
4 District letter book No. 393-1866, 1033-1867.
5 Annual Administration Report, 1870-71.
6 Annual Revenue Report, 1871-72.
7 Annual Revenue Report, 1874-75.

are available; but from 1872 there are separate totals for the town and district. In 1872 the combined revenue in the district as distinct from the town totalled over Rs. 1,30,000 and this gradually increased during the next three years to upwards of Rs. 1,50,000.

Then there was another fall. It was ascertained that out-still licenses had led to smuggling, while doubts were entertained as to their legality. Licenses for the sale of liquor manufactured in distilleries after the English method were therefore issued in their stead.[1] After the formation of Pegu district there was a decline in the excise revenue and it did not reach its former level until 1898-99, having for the few years immediately preceding remained very steady. From that date there has been a rapid rise. In 1899-00 the total revenue from excise was Rs. 1,89,485; in the course of the next five years the average annual increase was about Rs. 70,000 and in 1904-05 the total revenue reached Rs. 5,45,102 having increased by more than a lakh in 1903 and nearly a lakh and a half in 1902. This large increase is mostly assignable to altered methods of opium administration and to the greater activity in excise affairs resulting from the creation of a separate department. As regards liquor there has been no change in the method of raising revenue since the abolition of out-stills; licenses to vend are sold by auction, the liquor being, except in the case of toddy and certain country spirits obtained from Rangoon, or from some central distillery.

Drugs.

Less uniformity has marked the excise of intoxicating drugs. Until 1874 revenue was raised both from opium and *ganja*; from the former the results were patently deleterious and the revenue derived was small. In 1864-65 it yielded no more than Rs. 7,000, and ten years later only Rs. 10,000. The vend was therefore prohibited in 1874. The opium excise has always been raised by selling the drug to the farmer and receiving from him also a consideration for the right to sell by retail. Until recent years the amount paid by the farmer was determined by auction; now it is laid down as a fixed sum. In 1861 no shop was permitted except in Rangoon Town, sale of more than two tolas in one transaction was prohibited, and no one was allowed to possess more than half a tola.[2] In 1863-64, 2,787 seers were sold, but next year this amount increased to 3,925, and fears were expressed that the increase was partly due

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[1] Annual Revenue Report, 1878-79.

[2] Annal Revenue Report, 1864-65.

to the spread of the habit in the interior of the district. [1] Next year there was a further increase to 5,760 seers and the carriage of opium into the interior is said to be notorious, while opium was also being smuggled into Rangoon. [2] A year later the Deputy Commissioner reports that "all the villagers from Rangoon to Thônzè (the northern border of the district) smoke opium largely."[3] The Deputy Commissioner at that time, Captain Lloyd, deplores the spread of the habit, which he considers to have been introduced with in the last few years, and expresses apprehension that the inhabitants will become so generally demoralised that prejudicial effect will be felt upon the extension of cultivation. "What with opium, liquor and gambling" he continues, "the people of this district are being gradually ruined in health and prosperity." [4] The influx of Chinamen is described as immediately responsible for the spread of these vices. Steps were taken to check consumption by opening new shops, which it was anticipated would act as a deterrent upon illicit sale. [5]

At that time the drug was purchased from India at Rs. 7-8 a seer and retailed to the Rangoon farmer at Rs. 24 a seer. He sold to the retail purchaser at Rs. 2-12 a tola or Rs. 220 a seer. [6] He was allowed to sell one chest of opium for every Rs. 450 of the rent paid for the farm. The greater proportion of opium sold by Government was according to the returns sold in Rangoon town. From 1865 to 1868 the annual opium revenue had been about Rs. 1,50,000, but in 1872 it had increased to Rs. 2,50,000. In 1878 figures became available as to the proportion sold in the district apart from the town, and the revenue thus derived in rural areas is rather less than Rs. 50,000. This however was subsequent to the formation of Thôngwa district. The rapid increase in the sale however had attracted attention to the desirability of checking the spread of opium consumption and so in 1881 some of the existing shops were closed.

The most important change was the abolition of the auction system which was supposed to lead to connivance at illicit practices by the auction purchaser, and it is considered that the increase in the revenue received in recent

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[1] Abkari Rules, 1861.
[2] Annual Revenue Report, 1865-66.
[3] Annual Revenue Report, 1866-67.
[4] District letter book No. 1033-1867.
[5] Annual Revenue Report, 1867-68.
[6] District letter book 1886, 1st Quarter.

years is in some sort a measure of the blow given to illicit practices.

Table XIV, Volume B, shows this increase from 1901-02 for the Hanthawaddy district as it existed just before the partition 1912.

Stamp revenue.

The stamp revenue of the Hanthawaddy district has shown no special features of interest to distinguish it from other districts except the great increase derived from this source during recent years up till 1906-07. In 1895, the first year after the addition of Kyauktan subdivision, the revenue was only Rs. 40,787; in 1906-07 it had risen to over a lakh and a half, an average increase of over Rs. 10,000 a year. About this time the land boom was at its height. There has been a decline since then. A similar rise and fall is reflected in the statistics of registration and the work of civil courts. There are few contracts now-a-days which are not reduced to written agreements; even the ploughmen enter into bonds for the ploughing season in some cases, and the letting of land is often effected by a document. A large number however of these agreements are incorrectly stamped.

Table XII, Volume B, shows the fluctuation in the stamp revenue from 1901-02 for the Hanthawaddy district as it existed just before the partition of 1912.

CHAPTER XI.

LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT.

District Cess Fund.

An account of local self-government divides itself naturally into two heads, *viz.*, (1) the administration of the district cess fund and (2) the administration of municipal and notified areas.

The district cess fund was constituted under the District Cesses and Rural Police Act of 1880 which came into force on the 1st April of the same year. Its administration is entirely in the hands of the government officials and is concentrated in the district office under the control of the deputy commissioner but he works through the subdivisional officers and township officers. In particular the former were lately given the power of accepting contracts for the construction of public works to be done by civil officers at the expense of the district cess fund when the expenditure involved did not exceed Rs. 2,000.

Its activities are shown by Table XV, Volume B, which gives statements of the income and expenditure since

1901-02 for the Hanthawaddy district as it existed just before the partition of 1912. Its chief source of revenue is a ten per cent. cess on land revenue. Next in importance comes its income from the bazaars it has built, then that from ferries, then the proceeds of the sale of licenses to slaughter cattle and then fees and fines under the Cattle Trespass Act. Formerly it maintained a district post but this was taken over by the postal department in 1906. Most of the expenditure on education consists in grants-in-aid made to local schools. The fund maintains local hospitals and dispensaries, a vaccination and a veterinary establishment. It also undertakes to keep clean the towns and larger villages, its own bazaars and other buildings. It had till 1907 to contribute towards the commission paid to the headmen who collected the revenue on which it obtained its cess and to the cost of auditing its accounts and of late years has had to make special outlays to help to stamp out plague.

Public Works.

Most of its resources however are spent on public works such as hospitals, schools, bazaars, cattle pounds, slaughter-houses, tanks, landing stages, rest-houses, roads and bridges and the keeping open of communications. Some of these were until lately carried out by its own staff or unskilled local labour but the more important were entrusted to the public works department. This arrangement though necessary did not work very smoothly in practice. In 1895 the entire control of the public works department incorporated local fund budgets was given to Commissioners of divisions and Superintending Engineers ceased to have any control over them.[1] From time to time various orders were issued prescribing the procedure to be adopted in framing and sanctioning estimates for public works to be carried out at the expense of district funds, matters which seem always to have caused mistakes in district offices. In 1902 Commissioners were given the power to sanction any public work up to a limit of expenditure of Rs. 10,000. In 1907[1] the orders regarding the sanction of public works were further explained and Commissioners were given the power to decide whether any particular work should be done by the Public Works Department or by civil officers in exception to the general rule that any work costing over Rs. 2,500 should ordinarily be done by the Public Works Department.

From the 1st April, 1908, district cess funds were treated as excluded funds and ceased to be incorporated

[1] Local Government Circular No. 37 of 1907.

local funds. In order to preserve the roads of the district some of them were in 1909 [1] notified under section 2, Burma Highways Act, by which carts were restricted to the terms between 1st January and 15th May. In 1883 [2] the proportion in which cesses and taxes levied under the District Cesses and Rural Police Act were to be appropriated had been ordered to be fixed when the district cess budget was to be submitted for the orders of the chief commissioner. In 1908 [3] this arrangement was abolished but the following maximum percentages of the total income of a district cess fund which could be spent on various objects were prescribed by the local government.

	Per cent.
Communications	50
Works of Public utility	25
Sanitary Improvements	25
Education	30

From the 1st April 1910 the civil works of the district cess fund were taken over by the public works department. This arrangement was the consequence of the friction referred to above which a gradual devolution of power to sanction expenditure had not sufficed to allay. In 1891 the apportionment of public works and repairs between the public works department and civil officers had been systematized but in 1900 the question was again raised because of objections made to Public Works Department charges and the defects of the dual system. Separate engineering establishments were proposed but were rejected as being too expensive and because such an experiment had been a failure in Thôngwa. From 1902-04 the question of the agency by which public works should be carried out was raised and a separate engineering establishment was proposed for Hanthawaddy and Pegu districts combined. In 1904 objections were again made to public works charges and in 1907 the question of an engineering establishment for Pegu was again raised. Finally government passed orders in 1911 [4] that separate

[1] Public Works Department Notification No. 9, dated the 16th January 1909.

[2] Judicial Department Notification No. 266, dated the 31st December 1883.

[3] Local Department Notification No. 36, dated the 10th August 1908.

[4] Public Works Department Resolution No. 250-508E., dated the 19th January 1911.

engineer establishments were too costly and that the public works department should do all public works except those of a petty nature and the district cess fund engineering establishment should be absorbed by it. Devolution however continued. Among other powers that of sanctioning public works costing up to the amount of Rs. 5,000 was given to deputy commissioners,[1] and in 1912 that of sanctioning the construction and also repairs costing over Rs. 200 of district and dâk bungalow to commissioners.[2]

History of the Fund.

In these movements Hanthawaddy as the district with the largest district cess fund in the province, had its full share. This is shown in the annual reports but they are available for a few years only as they were prescribed in 1906[3] but discontinued in 1911[4]. The fund was so large that there was always difficulty in spending it.

In 1893 a minimum closing balance of Rs. 65,000 had been prescribed for Hanthawaddy district but so far was this limit from being passed that at the end of nearly every year it was found that a large sum of money was left unexpended, as the following table shows:—

—	1900-01.	1901-02.	1902-03.	1903-04.	1904-05.	1905-06.	1906-07.	1907-08.	1908-09.	1909-10.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Closing Balance of District Cess Fund in rupees.	1,90,117	2,34,444	2,01,500	2,32,876	1,90,485	...	40,027	2,08,930	2,66,448	2,12,138

In the resolution of the Local Government on the accounts of the district cess funds of the province for the year 1901-02 it is remarked that more liberal expenditure was to be desired and reports were called for as to whether there was any intention to increase the closing balance with a view to meet expenditure on large undertakings such as light railways. For Hanthawaddy district the answer was in the negative. In 1905-06 the deputy commissioner however, pointed out that in the three years 1901-02, 1902-03 and 1903-04 there has been failure to spend nearly a lakh of rupees which had been allotted to public works

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1 Local Government's Circular No. 16 of 1911.
2 Local Government's Circular No. 2 of 1912.
3 Local Government's Circular No. 32 of 1906.
4 Local Government's Circular No. 5 of 1911.

and suggested various reasons of which the chief was that the deputy commissioner and the superintending engineer were not in close enough touch. He showed the expenditure on civil works by civil officers as follows :—

Year.				Expenditure. Rs.
1901-02	...	...	...	54,000
1902-03	...	...	...	55,000
1903-04	...	...	...	50,000
1904-05	...	...	...	23,000
1905-06	...	...	...	19,000

and said that no programme existed of small works so that there was a difficulty in spending money on them. In consequence of this the subdivisional officers had been directed to furnish lists of small works suitable for their subdivisions. He also pointed out that there was a want of professional supervision of such works as no district fund overseers existed such as were employed in Upper Burma. Regarding finance he complained of the high charges demanded by the Public Works Department for expenses of that part of their establishment which devoted itself to carrying out works for the District Cess Fund and of the contribution made towards the cost of the similar part of the establishment of the district office.

In his report for 1906-07 the deputy commissioner noted the remarkable fact that for a considerable part of the year the district cess fund was overdrawn and that the closing balance was only Rs. 40,027 or about Rs. 25,000 below the minimum prescribed. The reasons were the loss of revenue due to the disastrous floods of 1905-06 and 1906-07 and to the expenditure which had to be made to stamp out plague which was indigenous at and near Insein for the greater part of the year.

Although in 1907-08 the opening balance was only Rs. 40,027, an increase in cess and ferry receipts and a decrease in the amount spent on plague (Rs. 6,600 out of an estimated amount of Rs. 32,000) again raised the fund to a strong financial position. The deputy commissioner remarked that the dual method of carrying on public works was not altogether a success, that the civil officers were in want of expert advisers and that the public works department Code was too rigid and elaborate for the petty requirements of the district cess fund. During the year the Syriam bazaar and the Letkokpin rest-house were built, but the deputy commissioner continued to find it unsatisfactory

that the fund could not spend enough. During the year the District Cess Fund ceased to contribute to the cost of revenue collection by village headmen and to the cost of audit.

In 1908-09 the deputy commissioner arranged that civil officers should take a larger share in civil works and appointed three overseers on Rs. 150 a month each to help them. The experiment was a success. In this year landing stages at Syriam and Kadapanat were built. The deputy commissioner strongly urged the appointment of a district engineer for district cess fund work alone but this request was refused in the general orders already referred to by which all but petty works were to be carried out by the public works department.

After this year the expenditure on civil works suddenly rose but in 1912 the district cess fund of Hanthawaddy district ceased to exist and was divided between the two new districts of Syriam and Insein.

The Syriam Municipality.

The Syriam Municipality [1] the only one in the Syriam district, came into existence on the 1st April 1909. Eight seats on the committee out of a total of fourteen were filled by election. The committee only assumed control of money on 1st April 1910, when a sum of Rs. 21,662-8-1 representing profits derived by the district cess fund within the town during 1909-10 and grants made by government were handed over to form an opening balance. No demands or collections of taxes were made during the year. A grant of Rs. 10,700 was received from the local government by the district cess fund for the benefit of the municipality and was applied to conservancy. A brick well was sunk to the depth of 60 feet and yielded good water. Ordinary drains and roads and in one quarter brick drains to the length of 1,500 feet were constructed and an experimental latrine of 25 seats on the Thayetmyo pattern with an incinerator close at hand was begun. A large portion of the population was reported to be protected from small-pox though no proper municipal vaccination staff was yet organised.

The town of Syriam had to be almost completely developed when it began its career as a municipality. Its first president, Mr. S. Grantham, writes of it :--

"Syriam in 1908 consisted of a Burmese village with a public works department road running through it, and at a distance of a mile from this a congested mass of houses

[1] Municipal and Local Department Notification No. 1, dated the 5th January 1909.

mostly of an extremely insanitary type, having a population of eight or nine thousand at least and not a single road or drain. During the period October 1908 to March 1910, this was changed to a regular system of roads; houses were built on a more or less sanitary plan, nine-tenths of them being four feet above the ground and all well spaced. This has led to the inclusion in the dwelling area of a square mile or so of what was formerly jungle, and the most important duty of the municipal committee is to fashion roads and drains in this quarter. This is a sanitary improvement as well as a commercial one without which the town would remain too poor to pay for any other sanitation; but it will for some time to come absorb the greater part of available funds. Meanwhile the work of the committee has been the preparation of sanitary bye-laws and of taxation schemes wherewith funds may be had for further improvements and for the organisation of the ordinary departments of municipal activity."

In the year 1910-11, the new hospital (to cost Rs. 80,000) being under construction, its superintendent was appointed an *ex-officio* member of the committee. A small grant of Rs. 3,500 was given by government towards the cost of suppression of plague and the municipality received Rs. 40,000 from the Hanthawaddy District Cess Fund and Rs. 20,000 from two private firms, the Burma Oil Company and the Indo-Burma Petroleum Company, towards the erection of the hospital. During this year municipal taxes were imposed for the first time. A tax on vehicles was introduced on 1st October 1910. Government sanctioned a combined reclamation and drainage scheme to cost over Rs. 34,000. Plague made its first appearance in the town on the 6th of January, 1911, but was stamped out in six weeks. The means adopted was principally the destruction of rats. Two thousand five hundred feet of roads were made, 400 feet metalled and 3 masonry culverts built. In the municipality the population was 10,902 according to the Census of 1911.

In 1912 [1] the boundary of the Municipality was extended by an area of 483 acres so as to include that portion of the civil station of Syriam as notified in Financial Commissioner's Notification No. 165, dated the 30th November 1911, which lay without the original boundary of the municipality. The extension brought the small villages of Nyoungthonbin and Kondan on the east of the Kyauktan-

[1] Municipal and Local Department Notification No. 47, dated the 18th April 1912.

Syriam road within the municipal limits. During the year the additional magistrate, Syriam, was substituted as an *ex-officio* member instead of the civil surgeon of Hanthawaddy district as the superintendent of the Syriam hospital, who was already an *ex-officio* member, had been invested with the powers of a Civil Surgeon within the Syriam municipality.[1] Collection of house and land tax began only on 1st April 1911. It was noted that the ward headmen did not give much assistance in municipal matters perhaps because their only emoluments were their commissions on collection of municipal taxes which did not amount to much. An order under section 195, Municipal Act, prohibited in that year the lighting of fires close to the Syriam Oil Refinery Works.

In 1911-12 over 4,000 running feet of drainage was made and a swamp near the bazaar reclaimed. The housing problem was a difficult one in Syriam as the town was full of poor Indian coolies who lived in collections of most filthy huts. Two new public latrines with 34 seats in all and two large incinerators were built in central positions but no system of scavenging was yet introduced nor any latrines or scavenging tax imposed. Two rubbish carts and three night soil carts were purchased to convey refuse and nightsoil to the incinerators. The new hospital completed during the year at an approximate cost of Rs. 75,000, was opened on the 1st of January 1912, and had an immediate success. Of the hospital fund of Rs. 3,316, most consists of fines imposed on their employees by the Burma Oil Company, Syriam. U Po Thein, municipal commissioner, made a special donation of Rs. 1,000 to the hospital. Half of the population of Syriam consists of employees of the Burma Oil Company and it had all its unprotected employees vaccinated. Ten new bazaar stalls were built at a cost of Rs. 2,600. Registration of vital statistics was not found satisfactory and the population, of whom two-thirds are Indians, are secretive over infectious diseases. The proportion of males to females is about two to one in Syriam. There was no expenditure on education. The proceeds of the Rangoon Syriam ferry are equally divided between the Rangoon and Syriam municipalities. Each share was Rs. 10,800 in this year. The present establishment of the Municipality is shown in Volume B, Part I.

There are no notified areas in the district. Notified areas.

[1] General Department Notification No. 97, dated the 28th February 1912.

CHAPTER XII.

EDUCATION.

Early days. Instruction of the young in Syriam district as elsewhere in Burma was at the annexation found to be almost entirely in the hands of members of the Buddhist Monastic order. But owing to its proximity to Rangoon this district benefited by every scheme devised in that town for the encouragement of education. The Society of Foreign Missions in Paris first paid special attention to the Karens of the Twante district and about the same time the American Baptist Mission commenced work among the Pwo-Karens. In 1884 special arrangements were made to place certificated teachers in non-Christian Karen villages. These efforts stimulated the villagers to establish schools for themselves, so that by 1896 the Buddhists were following the example of Christian communities in establishing independent village schools and there were proportionately more schools of a higher grade among the Karens than among the Burmans. In 1872, however, the Examiner of Rangoon Town made a tour through the Syriam district and examined many Monastic (Burmese) schools in which he found that Arithmetic was being taught as well as Burmese reading and writing. But in 1886 the *phôngyis* were reported as not keeping pace with the times as educational institutions and lay school managers gradually increased in numbers to meet the demand for more advanced secular instruction. The most successful of these lay managers were Maung Shwe Wa, Twante and Maung Shwe Pyu, Pyawbwè. By 1896 there were as many recognized lay as Monastic schools; now the lay schools in this district far outnumber the registered *phôngyi-kyaungs* and are more efficient. As until quite recently Syriam was part of the Hanthawaddy educational unit, statistics for this district alone are not available, but in 1892 there were in Hanthawaddy only 13 certificated teachers, all Burmese, and 165 registered schools with 4,671 pupils.

Controlling Agencies. Anglo-Vernacular schools come under the charge of the Inspector of Schools, Pegu Circle, aided by an Assistant Inspector, whose time is given mostly to Vernacular work. The district has two Deputy Inspectors with their headquarters at Twante and Kyauktan respectively. There are two Sub-Inspectors in this district. There is a Karen Deputy Inspector for the Syriam and Insein districts. The Tamil schools are controlled by a special Deputy Inspector who has all the Tamil schools in

the Province in his charge. The system of Itinerant teachers which was in vogue for several years was abolished in 1910. A scheme came into force in 1912 for placing Government teachers in Monastic schools and lay schools in backward localities. A few of these teachers have already been placed in this district.

In 1892 an Anglo-Vernacular school was opened at Twante but it was closed in 1895. There are now two registered Anglo-Vernacular schools managed by the Methodist Episcopal Mission, one at Balônkwin, Syriam and the other at Thôngwa. The attendance at these schools in 1912 was 112 and 100 respectively. Both are Secondary schools registered up to Standard VII. There is a private Primary School at Kayan with 37 pupils teaching up to Standard IV. There are two small Private Church of England Schools in Syriam, one Anglo-Vernacular and the other for Anglo-Indians following the European Code. Anglo-Vernacular schools.

The number of schools recognized by the Education department varies from year to year as owing to the lack of support every year some managers close their schools and others again take up the work elsewhere. The award of salary-grants to certificated school managers and teachers tends to prevent this fluctuation but it still continues. In 1912 there were 557 teachers of whom 75 only were certificated. There were 242 registered schools, 41 of which were Secondary Schools. The attendance was 11,728. There were 7 private schools giving a very elementary education to about 165 pupils. More than half of these schools were lay schools but there were 389 *phôngyi-kyaungs* with an attendance of about 4,578 that aimed chiefly at giving instruction in the Buddhist scriptures with merely the elements of secular education by way of reading and writing. Five schools give special tuition in Pâli and prepare candidates for the Patamabyan examinations. The number of pupils in 1912 was 132. Vernacular schools Burmese.

Registered schools for Karens are all under lay management, the medium of instruction is Burmese although Karen is usually taught as a second language and they are invariably mixed schools, *i.e.*, attended by both boys and girls. There are no Karen schools east of the Rangoon River, and to the west of it the Pwo-Karens are more numerous than the Sgaw Karens and much more backward in regard to education. They are not good at paying school fees and teachers find difficulty in supporting themselves. There were in 1912 fifty teachers of whom only Karen.

five were certificated. Registered schools numbered 25, only one being a Secondary school, and the attendance 717. There were eight *phôngyi-kyaungs* with 118 pupils receiving religious instruction only.

Tamil and Telugu.

Tamil schools are fairly numerous in this district but are all very poor. A Tamil Deputy Inspector was appointed in 1894 but he has not been able to effect much improvement in the schools. In 1911 there were 13 registered schools with 154 pupils but in 1912 there were only 6 with 40 pupils. The number of private schools increased during the same period from 5 to 10. In Vernacular schools no English is allowed and Tamils desire their children to get a smattering of English and for this reason the majority of these schools are on the private list where the attendance in 1912 was 192.

Technical Schools.

A special class for Hand and Eye Training was opened in 1912 at Maung Shwe Pyo's school, Pyawbwè, under a Government teacher specially trained at the Government Normal School, Moulmein; 189 pupils attended this class.

Rupees 500 Schools.

In 1906 four Government Vernacular school buildings were erected in this district in order to provide better accommodation for lay schools in backward localities. These were placed at Kamakalôk, Nyaungni, Wegyi and Wathinkha. At first the teachers were allowed salary-grants for two years by which time they were supposed to be able to support themselves by fees and results-grants. There was difficulty however in getting teachers to continue work after the salary-grant was withdrawn. Now that permanent salaries are given to certificated managers these schools are improving.

Female Education.

In registered Anglo-Vernacular schools in 1912 there were only ten girls; in Vernacular schools there were 4,687. Karens pay as much attention to the education of girls as of boys but in Burmese lay schools also there are almost invariably a few girls in attendance, so that these may all be regarded as mixed schools. In Monastic schools in this district no girls are admitted, Burmese girls numbered 4,328, Karen 354 and Tamil 5. There is one Vernacular school for girls under Missionary control at Syriam.

CHAPTER XIII.

PUBLIC HEALTH.

Early days.

Concern for the public health was not a feature of the Burman administration and there are scanty records of the health of the district prior to British rule. During

the first war the climate of Rangoon was considered salubrious[1] and apart from particular localities the general health of the district appears to have been almost always good. In 1842 however there was a notable epidemic of cholera so severe that the fields remained unsown and famine ensued. The sparseness of the population despite apparently favourable conditions early attracted the attention of the English officials. An enquiry was instituted by Sir Arthur Phayre which in its result tended to establish the opinion that although malaria was locally prevalent the public health in general was good. The Civil Surgeon of the district which at that time included the town of Rangoon comments on the rarity among Burmans of death as the "direct or indirect result of primary and secondary syphilitic affections and from intoxicating beverages" and notes that very few deaths are due to the deleterious influence of opium.[2] As a positive outcome of the enquiry a stimulus was given to the record of vital statistics, but administrative conditions did not permit of sufficient accuracy for these to be of any use and in 1865 they were restricted to the towns. Definite recognition of the responsibility for public health appears for the first time in 1865 with the appointment of conservancy officers. But in 1867 it is reported that although the people had been instructed in the value of sanitary measures there had been no practical and useful results. The only remedial steps yet undertaken had been the construction of a few roads. It was proposed that public latrines should be erected and those using them be taxed for their support, and those not using them be taxed more heavily; while the sweepers were to enforce their use by strangers at a fee of a pie per head. Later on however a less cumbrous machinery was devised and orders were passed prohibiting the cutting down of trees and bushes in the vicinity of towns. Nothing as yet appears to have been attempted as regards sanitation in the district outside the towns. Accounts are available from 1869 of the income of the district outside Rangoon, itself but there are no records of expenditure, nor signs that anything was spent on sanitation.

The Burmans at that time were considered favourably disposed to the methods of European medicine, but although a proposal was made in the sixties and seventies to facilitate training in medicine, it proved impracticable, and the

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[1] Alexander, the Burman Empire.
[2] Memo. on sparseness of population.

hospitals and dispensaries had all to be staffed by natives of India. It is stated that this tended to lessen their acceptability by the people. There is now a Government Medical School in Rangoon however and the Burmans are beginning to think of qualifying for the practice of European medicine. The stress of other work left little room for attention to the administration of public health and the development of existing conveniences is therefore recent history. There are now hospitals maintained by the District Cess Fund at Twante, Kyauktan and Thôngwa and the new municipality of Syriam has a hospital. Many of the people of the district, however, go to be treated at the Rangoon Hospital as it is so near. In 1905-06 the medical staff maintained by the Hanthawaddy District Cess Fund was one assistant surgeon, two hospital assistants, two compounders, one midwife, besides clerks and menials. Since then however the erection of the hospital at Thôngwa has necessitated an increase. The present staff for Syriam district is given in Volume B, Part I.

Diseases. There are no diseases peculiar to the Syriam district nor any specially prevalent in it. It is impossible to tell its birth and death rates as they are only available (Table III, Volume B) for the old Hanthawaddy district and these are of doubtful value as a glance at the sanitary reports of the province will show that the vital statistics annually recorded are not considered wholly reliable. The birth rate is probably below the truth and one reason that has been assigned is the small attention paid to a birth among the Burmans compared with that paid to a death which nearly always involves an entertainment. On the other hand deaths of infants often escape registration. It has been noticed that Hindus have a higher death rate than any other race and the reasons given are their proverty, miserliness, intemperance and insanitary habits. The sanitary reports classify the deaths under cholera, small-pox, fevers, bowel-complaints and other causes. By far the largest number of deaths (except those under "other causes") are classified under "fevers," but this is probably only because the Burmans cannot distinguish between diseases and because death is very often preceded by a rise in the temperature of the body. Next in frequency come bowel-complaints and then cholera and small-pox. The mortality under the last two vary very much from year to year. Epidemics of these diseases rise and die away again. To prevent cholera and promote generally the health of the people, little can be done

in the villages except the encouragement of cleanliness, the draining and clearing of village sites and the digging of tanks and wells, and the amount that can be done depends to a great extent on the state of the district cess fund.

Sanitation.

In 1892 an enquiry was made on the sanitary state of villages of Burma and medical men noted that they usually occupied swampy sites, were badly drained, had no proper latrine accommodation and were full of filthy puddles especially under the dwelling-houses. To counteract these evils however it was observed that the people lived on houses raised a foot or two above the ground so that a current of fresh air passed between the puddle and the house; their houses were built some distance apart, kept half open and made of previous material such as bamboo matting, so that the ventilation was excellent; the people had cleanly habits and used for the purposes of nature strips of jungle some little distance from the village where there were many natural scavengers; and that they were careful of drinking water not only for themselves but for wayfarers.

This is still generally true of the Burmese and Karen (but not of the Indian) villages in the district and the villagers will no doubt remain healthy so long as they have plenty of space to build, a little extra land besides house sites and a good water-supply and adhere to the custom of living in houses raised above the ground, keeping their houses open and using bamboo or thin planking for their construction. There is often difficulty in obtaining space even for house-building—either the river bank has fallen in and reduced the village site or rice-land has encroached into it. Commodious village sites are, however, essential to the health as well as the comfort of the people and it is an economically sound policy to supply them. In 1895 rules for sanitation in villages under the Lower Burma Village Act were framed and have no doubt done much to improve the public health of the district.

Vaccination.

To prevent small-pox vaccination was instituted in the district in 1864 and since that year vaccination operations have been systematically carried out in it but without great success. Hanthawaddy district was always a stronghold of inoculation which the Burma prefers because it renders a child absolutely immune while vaccination does not render it absolutely so, forgetting that inoculation is very liable to introduce other diseases into the system and that a vaccinated person only gets small-pox, if at all, in a very mild form. During 1880 the vaccination

Act became law and it was extended to Rangoon town in 1884 but vaccination has never been compulsory in the district except in Syriam town. In 1880 the Hanthawaddy district had a staff of two native superintendents and two first class and five second class vaccinators and it was kept about this strength till 1909 when a reorganization took place. It was reported that the European medical staff of the district had not sufficient knowledge of Burmese to explain the benefits of vaccination among the villages, but owing to the efforts of the American Baptist Mission vaccination made great progress among the Karens. By 1890 when Hanthawaddy district was practically identical with the present Syriam and Insein districts excluding Hlegu township, vaccination had steadily extended but the people were still averse to it. Inoculation was still preferred and even practised under the guise of vaccination the reasons assigned being—

(1) the natural disinclination of the Burman to provide for the future ;

(2) the bad results of vaccinating sickly children ;

(3) the opposition of Burman doctors who practised and made a large part of their income out of inoculation ; and

(4) the distrust on the part of Burmese mothers of young vaccinators. The staff then consisted of one native superintendent and six vaccinators and out of a total population of 347,448 no less than 32,742 were reported to have been vaccinated in the year 1889-90 at a cost of Rs. 6,747 and 81 persons were vaccinated in dispensaries besides. Table XXIII, Volume B, gives statistics of operations in Hanthawaddy district as it existed just before the partition of 1912. They show little variation except in the success of the operations and the cost per head.

In 1894-95 in spite of the reported extension of vaccination inoculators were still at work and there was great opposition to vaccination except in Karen villages. Moreover the statistics showing the number of operations perfomed were looked on with much suspicion. In Hanthawaddy district the progress of vaccination gradually lessened and inoculation got a firm hold so much so that on the 15th October 1909, the Act for the Prevention of Inoculation was put in force in Hanthawaddy district and the vaccination establishment completely reorganised.

Fevers.

To combat fever, especially malarial fever, measures are taken in the district similar to those taken all over Burma, *viz.*, the clearing of jungle and filling up of pools

near villages with a view to prevent the breeding of mosquitoes, and the wide distribution of quinine for sale at a low price at post offices, bazaars and other central places. Powders were distributed first but in 1909 tabloids were substituted and the price of the drug was lowered.

Dengue fever was introduced into Burma from Northern India and Bombay in 1872 and still attacks people in the district. Dengue Fever.

In 1897 plague had made such havoc in India that a council to advise the Local Government was formed and rules in accordance with the Venice Convention to prevent its spreading to or in Burma were framed in that year. In 1898 plague was first introduced into Burma by sea, one case being found in June at Moulmein and the other later in Rangoon Harbour. Two more cases imported by sea were found in 1899, four in 1900, five in 1901, three in 1902, ten in 1903 and three in 1904 and it was not till 1905 that the first indigenous case occurred, and that in Rangoon, but by the end of that year several indigenous cases had been reported and the towns of Rangoon, Bassein, and Hlègu (then in the Pegu district but now in Insein district) were infected with the disease, while in Hanthawaddy 17 deaths occurred. Thereafter the disease established itself in the district and has not yet been entirely stamped out. Plague.

To combat plague the usual operations of surveillance, evacuation, disinfection, rat-killing, inoculation, etc., were at first carried out, but in accordance with the conclusions of the plague commission many measures for the purpose of destroying the plague germ in houses were abandoned and efforts were made to prevent the access to man of infected rats and their fleas and to counteract the effect of the bites of infected fleas. Chemical disinfection of houses was to a great extent abandoned in favour of simple cleansing operations and evacuation and the destruction of rats. In 1910 there was a general opinion that the best means of preventing the spread of plague lay in permanent sanitary improvements to houses, bazaars and granaries and their construction so as to afford the minimum of harbourage for rats, so divisional ratting gangs were organised to take measures on a large scale wherever plague should appear in any part of a division. On the 1st of April 1911 expenditure on plague operations throughout the greater part of the province was provincialised, contribution based on past expenditure and ability to pay being levied from Municipal and District Cess Funds, and the question of substituting a

permanent sanitary staff for the temporary plague staff ocupied the consideration of Government.

Food.

The food of the people is good and plentiful and ;[1] so it is not for want of good food that the people suffer in health. A certain amount of the bowel-complaints prevalent in the rains may, however, probably be ascribed to the eating of hastily cooked or raw food by cultivators who come in tired and wet from their work in the rice fields where they have been standing or walking above the ankles in watery mud all day often under a hot sun.

Infantile mortality.

There is a very large infantile mortality in the province and as the death rate among infants is larger in rural areas than in towns doubtless in Syriam district too. In the old Hanthawaddy district the percentage of deaths under five years to the total number of deaths is shown by Table III, Volume B, to lie between 38 and 46. This has been ascribed to the employment of ignorant midwives and improper feeding. On the 15th September 1906, the society for the prevention of infantile mortality in Burma was constituted and received the encouragement and financial support of Government, but it is not known to what extent it conducted operations in Syriam district.

Injuries.

The injuries include drowning, falls from palm trees, snake bite and goring by buffaloes. Snakes, mostly Russell's Vipers, are common in the fields, especially in years of floods, but the cobra and the kareit are often found. Sir Lauder Brunton's lancets are carried by one or two of the officials and have proved efficacious in many cases. The country people too have their own remedies.

Table III, Volume B, classifies the deaths in the Hanthawaddy district as it existed just before the partition of 1912 from 1901 under the main causes. The figures show small variation but indicate outbreaks of small-pox in 1905 and 1906.

CHAPTER XIV.

MINOR ARTICLES.

Akayein.—A township or province of Hanthawaddy in Burman times, founded in 550 B.E. (1187 A.D.) by Maheintha. It lay between Pegu and the hills. Details of population but not of revenue are given in the record of

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[1] See page 50.

1803. It continued to have a separate existence as a township for some time after the British occupation, but was subsequently included in Pegu At the British occupation Akayein included two circles Kayagyun and Mahura. The cultivated area was returned as 14,156 acres in 1864 and 27,324 acres in 1865.

Angyi.—A township of the Burman province of Dala joined on to Hanthawaddy at the British occupation as part of Rangoon district. The Headquarters were originally at Tamanaing, the centre of the salt industry, but appear to have changed to Pyawbwè when the rice trade developed. It included six circles, Môkkyun, Tamanaing, Kawhmu, Mahlaing, Pyawbwè and Kodaung. The area under rice was 39,088 acres in 1864. In 1875 Indapura, Twante and Panhlaing circles were added to it and later on it was again subdivided into two townships Twante and Kungyangôn. These however divided the island into north and south not into east and west along the ridge as was formerly the case. In Burman times Angyi appears to have included Twante and to have been the headquarters township of the Dala province so that in the early accounts of the district Dala may have reference to the whole province or to Angyi township only. The name of the township became known as Angyi early in the nineteenth century. The ruler held charge on condition of rendering naval service; one of the war boats which he supplied did so well at the Rangoon races that the name "an gyi" "marvellous" was applied, first to the boat and then in course of time to the township.

The making of mats, fish-paste and salt used to be important occupations in this township. (*See* Twante, Dala.)

Bawni.—A township or province of Hanthawaddy in Burman times, founded by Mahura or Razadirit about 700 B.E. (1338 A.D.); there is no mention of this township in the records of 1783 and 1803 as now extant. On the British occupation it remained a township of Rangoon district, but in 1864 was reallotted to Toungoo; later it passed to Shwegyin and then to Pegu. It is often known as Yenwe-Bawni as it consisted of these two circles, both lying the Yenwe streams. In area it covered about 800 square miles.

Dala.—A province of the Peguan Empire including the townships of Pyapôn, Inde, Thôngwa and Angyi. The Headquarters were at Twante in the township of Angyi. About the end of the eighteenth century Pyapôn became a separate administration and a few years later Angyi, both

of them being placed under "penins" who held office on condition of rendering naval service. Originally it appears to have been a separate principality, but it passed under the rule of Syriam and subsequently under that of Hanthawaddy. The Governor of Dala was not however subject to the Governor of Hanthawaddy and until the British occupation its revenues were always assigned to the chief queen.

On the formation of Rangoon district it was included therein, but the greater portion passed to Thôngwa on the formation of that district in 1875, leaving only Angyi in Rangoon district. This continued to be spoken of as Dala and the name is now loosely applied to that portion of Rangoon and its environs which lie across the Rangoon River within the limits of the old province.

As in the rest of Hanthawaddy there are two series of legends. The first relates to the founding of the Shwe San Daw Pagoda by a King Thameintaw Byinyana about the time of the Buddha. There is then a gap presumably consequent on the expulsion of the Orissa colonists. It is said that the island of Dala, then known as Thamaing Saga, remained uninhabited for three hundred years. Then a jungle child was placed there by his foster parents, a pair of eagles. As a result of his charity to for wandered sailors he became the possessor of a magic bow, which was the means of his giving assistance to the King of Thatôn. The King sent his daughter to become his queen, but he fled before the splendour of the princess and the retinue and climbing the tree where he had first been nurtured fell down and died. She established a city Kyakatwayan with defences of thorny bamboos at Kabin near Twante; but Bawgathena, a descendant of Nga Than Hlyin of Syriam, captured the city and took her for his bride. Then the island remained subject to Syriam and subsequently to Hanthawaddy.

Dala has always been the first object of attack when the Burmans have attacked Hanthawaddy by water and Talekpye Min, the King of Burma, established a kingdom there when driven out of Pagan by the Chinese.

Dawbon.—One of the original townships of Rangoon district formerly known as Ma-u (q.v.). It included Dabein, Sitpin and Kyaukchaung circles. The first of these passed to Pegu on the formation of that district in 1883, and the other two are now in Insein district and except for a small portion of the east of Sitpin retain their original boundaries. In 1864 there were 25,831 acres

under cultivation, but in 1865 owing to cattle murrain this had been reduced to 12,543 acres.

Hlaing.—A township or province of Hanthawaddy founded by Ponnareika in 673 B.E. concerning which no details are forthcoming in the records of 1783 and 1803 as now extant. It originally included Thônzè circle, made over to Tharrawaddy in 1873. Since then its boundaries have remained unaltered, but it is now known as Taikkyi, where the Headquarters are now situated. In 1864 there were 18,053 acres under cultivation. (See Taikkyi.)

Hmawbi.—A township or province in Burmese times, founded in 670 B.E. (1319 A.D.) by Ponnareika. In 1803 A.D. it contained 198 households, about two-fifths being Karens. There are no details of revenue in the record of 1803. There is information however as to the revenue paid just before the British occupation. At this time the township only included the circles of Hmawbi, Myoma, Leingôn and Kyaunggôn. The total revenue amounted to—

Fisheries	...	250	tickals (about Rs. 400).
Toungya	...	250	,,
Land	...	250	,,
Capitation, etc.	...	300	,,
Total	...	1,050	tickals.

There was also a charge of about 250 tickals for carriage of the revenue to Amarapura. There was also a tax of a tickal of silver and 25 baskets of unhusked rice on each plough paid to the Central Government and of 15 baskets paid to the *myothugyi.*

After the British occupation Mingaladon, formerly a township (q.v.) was added as another circle.

Indè.—A township of Dala province, absorbed in Rangoon district at the British occupation. It included Seiktha and Kyaiklat circles In 1864 there were 3,404 acres under rice. In 1875 it was one of the townships allotted to Thôngwa on the formation of that district, and it is now part of Pyapôn district. It may also have included Kyunton circle.

Ingabu.—A township or province of Hanthawaddy in Burman times also known as Pa-aing, founded about 700 B.E. (1400 A.D.) by Mahura or Razadarit. There is no mention of this township in the copies still extant of the records of 1783 and 1803, but it existed as a township on the British occupation. It included Tantabin, Kyun-u, Padan,

Kasin, Yandoon and Ta-ke circles. In 1875 the last two circles passed to Thôngwa on the formation of that district, and the other four are now in Insein district and retain their original boundaries, as circles of Insein township. In 1864 there were 21,514 acres under cultivation.

Kawleyah.—A township or province of Hanthawaddy in Burman times, founded about 750 B.E. (1400 A.D.) by Razadirit. This is almost the only township for which there is still extant the record both of 1145 and 1164 B.E. (1783 and 1803 A.D); there are details of the revenue paid at the time of both enquiries and of the population on the occasion of the latter. At or before the British occupation it ceased to exist as a separate township, but remained a revenue circle of Pegu township in Rangoon district until 1883 when it was transferred to Shwegyin.

Ma-u.—A township or province of Hanthawaddy in Burman times, founded by Mahaintha in 552 B.E. (1189 A D.) when the revenue inquest was held, and remained "undistinguished and buried in obscurity" until 1149 B.E. when a *thugyi* was appointed that it might be a "profit to the King."

He "fed and supported those who came of their own accord from distant towns and villages and other neighbourhoods (and) took care that the poor men were not scattered abroad."

It contained the villages of Mata, Kyuchaung, Malit, Dabein, Tathi, Kawtun, Maso and Kyisu. Some information as to the revenue and population is given in the record of 1803. At or before the British occupation it became known as Dawbôn, and continued as a separate township under this name until the formation of Pegu in 1883 when it was divided between the two districts of Pegu and Hanthawaddy.

Mingaladôn.—One of the townships or provinces of Hanthawaddy in Burman times; founded in the reign of Ponnareika about 670 B.E. (1310 A.D.), apparently known as Ramanagi. At or before the British occupation it became included in Hmawbi (q. v.) as the Mingaladôn revenue circle. Details of population but not of revenue are given in the record of 1803 A.D.

Paunglin.—A township or province of Hanthawaddy founded by Teiktha Raza about 700 A D. Details of the population, sources and rates of revenue are given in the record of 1803. On the British occupation it continued to have a separate existence as a township, and included the circles of Paunggyi, Kyungale and Yetho. It passed to

Pegu in 1883, but Yetho circle was retransferred to Hanthawaddy in the same year and now forms part of Insein township. In 18: 4 there were 30,889 acres under rice, but the Kondan circle, hitherto included in Paunglin, was in that year retransferred to Hmawbi (now Insein) township and next year the area under the rice had decreased to 23,861 acres.

Pyapôn.—Formerly a township of Dala province, included in Rangoon district at the British occupation. There are four circles—Myoma, Pyindaye, Wakema and Tawtanee. In 1864 there were 11,293 acres under cultivation with rice. In 1875 it was transferred to Thongwa district and has since then been constituted as a separate district. It may also have included Kyaiklat and Kyunton circles, but these probably were part of In-dè township.

Pegu.—Formerly a township of Rangoon district including the revenue circles of Pegu, Myoma and Mayinzaya. It was at one time the headquarters of a subdivision, but these were subsequently moved to Syriam. This subdivision corresponds with the portion of Hanthawaddy included in Rangoon district, the other subdivision consisting of the old province of Dala.

Subsequently it again became the headquarters of a subdivision. In 1864 there were 20,141 acres under rice. In 1883 it was separated from Rangoon on the formation of the Pegu district.

Thôngwa.—A township of the Burman province of Dala; it did not form part of Hanthawaddy until it was absorbed therein as part of Rangoon district at the British occupation. It included three circles—Thôngwa Myoma, Khattia and Inzayat. About 1865 the Twantè Myoma, Panhlaing and Indapura circles together with the three circles of Thongwa were joined to form Twantè or Yandoon township. In 1864 there were 36,616 acres under rice in the township. In 1875 on the formation of Thôngwa district the former circles of Thôngwa township were included therein.

Zainganaing—A township or province of Hanthawaddy in Burman times, also known as Hintha Zainganaing; founded in 885 B.E. (1523 A.D.) by Takarut Bi, the last Talaing king. It was subsequently abandoned and was devoid of inhabitants at the revenue inquest of 1143 B.E. (1783 A.D.). In 1159 B.E. (1797 A.D.) when it was a waste of "high jungle and long grass" the Governor of Hanthawaddy ordered that it should be re-established. Details of

the revenue and population are given in the record of 1803. It retained a separate existence as a township for some time after the British occupation, but was finally absorbed into Pegu township as a revenue circle. When Zaingandaing was a township of the Rangoon district it included the circles of Lagunbyin, Myoma and Tandagyi. In 1864 there were 11,677 acres under rice.

Zwebon.—A township or province of Hanthawaddy in Burman times, founded by Wimala in 531 B.E. (1168 A.D.) and formerly known as Zwegabon. It lay between Pegu and Syriam, and continued to have a separate existence until the formation of the Pegu district in 1883 A.D., when it was divided between this district and the Syriam subdivision of Hanthawaddy. Details of population but not of revenue are given in the record of 1803. It appears to have been one of the most populous tracts of the district in Burman times. When originally constituted a township of Rangoon district Zwebon included two circles, Nyaunbin and Pegu. There were 20,456 acres under rice in 1864. The Nyaungbin circle passed to Pegu and the Pegu circle to Kayan township and has been repeatedly subdivided (*see* Pegu, Kayan).

Syriam.—Formerly an independent principality with suzerainty over Dala (q.v.). There appears to have been a colony of Orissa merchants here with their headquarters at Pada, where there are still remains of the old palace built of laterite. The Kyaikkauk pagoda, also built of laterite, apparently dates from the same period. There are laterite ruins scattered all over the islands. A native dynasty, possibly Talaing, succeeded to that established at Pada, and its founder, Nga Than Hlyin, gave his name to the island. He removed the capital to the present town of Syriam, which is the Portuguese version of the original Talaing name. Than Hlyin is supposed to have ascended the throne about 500 B.C. and his dynasty endured for about 250 years, but these dates are obviously erroneous. It passed under the dominion of Hanthawaddy, but always retained a semi-independent existence until it was captured by Arakan, when the Portuguese, Phillip de Brito Niconte (Nga Linga), was placed in charge and used his position to found a Portuguese kingdom embracing the greater part of Pegu with Toungoo in subordinate alliance. He was conquered and executed by impalement. Between 1630 and 1670 the Dutch and British established factories but were expelled in about 1677. The Portuguese also effected another entrance but were again expelled. By this time Syriam had become

the most important town in Lower Burma as Apaukpetlunmin moved his court from Pegu to Ava. In 1723 the Barnabite fathers established a mission here which lasted until 1760. The town was taken by Alaung Baya after a siege of thirteen months. It was however administered by Talaing governors. Maung Sat, who was in charge during the first Anglo-Burman war, rebelled and being defeated fled to Moulmein. His son, Maung Tha Dun Aung, and grandson, Maung Ba Gyaw, were subsequently in charge under the British Government.

When originally constituted a township of Rangoon district it included the Syriam Myoma, Pagandaung, Agun, Yun and Hmawwun circles. These have all been subsequently divided and the township itself with the addition of Pegu circle now forms the Kyauktan subdivision with three township charges, Kayan, Thongwa and Kyauktan. In 1864 there were 59,956 acres under rice cultivation.

Syriam was made a district in 1912 * with subdivisions Twante and Kyauktan, but its headquarters are still (1913) in Rangoon.

Cocos Islands.—Two islands in the Gulf of Martaban about 45 miles north-east of the Andaman Islands with which they are geologically connected. They are included within Syriam district and are situated in longitude 93°22′ E. and between 14°4′ and 14°10′ N. and cover about 14 and 2½ square miles respectively. In 1883 they were leased for 50 years to a Mr. S. Hare. From 1st April, 1883, till 1st April, 1888, they were rent free, then paid a rent of Rs. 1,800 per annum until 1st April, 1893, and from thence until the expiry of the lease one-tenth of the produce. They are intended to be used as cocoanut plantations. At the time of the issue of the lease there were 6,574 fruit-bearing trees on the large island and 4,622 on the small. On land not planted with cocoanuts a revenue of Re. 1 per acre has to be paid. One-sixth of the produce of the fisheries is also paid to Government.

Preparis Islands.—A group of islands in the Gulf of Martaban belonging to the Syriam district. They were leased in 1900 to a Mr. H. W. Jones for a term of thirty years. No rent had to be paid until 1st April 1905, a rent of Rs. 1,000 per annum for the next five years until 1st April 1910, then Rs. 2,500 per annum until 1st April 1915, the expiry of the lease. At least ten acres have to be kept

* General Department Notification No. 63, dated the 17th February 1912.

under cultivation with tobacco, and communications have to be maintained with Rangoon at least once in every ninety days.

Twante.—A subdivision of Hanthawaddy district consisting of the Twante and Kungyangon townships.

Twante.—A township in Twante subdivision, composed of the Danok, Pyawbwe, Kanaungto, Tamatakaw, Kambe, Twante Myoma, Kanywa, Mahlaing and Panhlaing circles. Of these Twante and Panhlaing have at various times formed part of a township known as Twante or Thôngwa or Dala; they have not been subdivided since the British occupation, but a small island was added to Panhlaing circle from Inzayat. Kanaungto. Tamatakaw, Kanywa and Mahlaing have been carved out of Mahlaing circle which used to belong to Angyi township; Danek and Kambe are portions of the former circles of Kodaung and Kawhmu respectively and used to belong to Angyi, as did Pyawbwe, which has remained unaltered. The ridge runs down the middle of the township. On the west there is an old established cultivation, and on the east there are also rice plains, but these are subject to inundation.

The principal occupations are rice cultivation, rice-trading, fishing, and market gardening. There used to be a little salt, and straw hats (kamauk) were also plaited in one or two villages. The Shwesandaw pagoda is a most noteworthy object from an archæological point of view, and the old town of Twante, the ruins near Khabin and the Danok pagoda are also of interest.

Twante is a thickly populated township and contains a large number of Hindus which of recent years has very greatly increased.

The principal villages are Kanaungto, Kanbe, Kungyan, Payagyi, Pyawbwe, Taloktaw and Twante and statistics concerning them are given in Vol. B.

Kabin village.—A village near Twante, mentioned in the history of the Shwe San Daw pagoda as the residence of Thameintaw Byinnyan, then king of Okkalaba (Twante) who welcomed Tapussa and Palikat and escorted them to Rangoon to enshrine the relics of Buddha. A jungle child, Nga Di, is said to have lived here 300 years later, and the princess of Thatôn, who was given to him in marriage, built her fort of thorny bamboos here (Kyakatwayan Mye—the legend is found in other parts of Burma). As Kappinagara it finds mention in the Kalyani inscriptions. Talokpyemin established a residence here and made himself master of Dala when he was driven by the Chinese from Pagan. In

1877 there was a double rampart still visible and a ruined pagoda known after Maung Di, the jungle child.

Kanaungto.—A large village in the Twante township on the Rangoon river at the mouth of the Twante canal, and the terminus of the road from Twante. The village-tract consisted at the 1911 census of 895 houses, and 6,860 inhabitants, mainly cultivators, of whom about 3,200 were natives of India, and the remainder Burmans. It dates from 1814, and was founded by a Talaing, U Kanaungto.

Kanbe.—A village in the Kanbe circle, Twante township, on the Twante canal. There is a large rubber plantation near here on one of the waste land grants. Population: 1877, 841; 1901, 1,313; 1911, 1,596.

Kungyan.—A village in the Twante towhship, founded in 1846, and consisting at the 1911 census of 281 houses and a population of 1,752, mainly Burmans. The village is really a suburb of Twante town. The chief industry, as the name denotes, is the cultivation of betel vines, a minor occupation being the manufacture of "Kamauk" hats.

Payagyi.—A village in the Twante township consisting at the 1911 census of 279 houses and 1,626 inhabitants, mostly Burmese and Karen cultivators. It was established about 150 years ago, and was called after the pagoda in the vicinity, the Kyaik-sa-gaing Paya.

Pyawbwe village.—A village in the revenue circle of the same name in the Twante township. Formerly the headquarters of the Angyi township, succeeding Tamanaing as the salt industry declined and the rice trade developed. It appears to have been the first place in the neighbourhood of Rangoon where there was cultivation on a large scale, and the "Pyawbwe paddy" was noted while the export industry was still a minor trade. It was a "Pawyut" variety for home consumption and continued as the predominant crop so late as 1867. At this time and until 1880 there was a large trade in rice-cleaning. The men earned Rs. 25 a month, and the women eight to twelve annas a day. Population in 1878: 3,766; in 1901: 4,142; in 1911: 3,796. Even in 1877 there were very few Talaings.

Taloktaw village.—A village in Twante circle of Twante township with population in 1877: 620; 1901: 1,515; 1911: 1,606.

Twante village.—The headquarters of the Twante township. It has been known at various times as Dala and Twante. Dala, however, is more properly the name given to the deltaic province of which it was formerly the capital. Its early history is related in connection with

Khabin and the Shwe San Daw pagoda. After the occupation it remained the headquarters of the Dala subdivision, but these were transferred to Yandoon on the rise of that village as a trading centre. With the building of the railway the former natural subdivisions of the district became anomalous and Twante has lost in importance. Population in 1870: 1,870; in 1901: 4,684; in 1911: 4,457. There is an old palace here thus described in 1881: "it consists of three terraces of different sizes rising one above the other, the whole being surrounded by a moat . . . . with the exception of a few blocks of laterite pieces of broken bricks and tiles very few remains of the palace can be distinguished." The laterite blocks and the three terraces taken in conjunction suggest that this was in reality the sight of a pagoda rather than a palace.

Zibyugon.—A village in the Twante township established about 140 years ago. At the 1911 census it comprised 262 houses and a population of 1,598, mostly Burmans, and those fishermen, with a few agriculturists.

Kungyangon.—A township of Twante subdivision composed of Mokkyun, Zepathwe, Kanyingon, Tawku, Tanmanaing, Myogon, Kamaba, Indapura, Kawmhu and Kodaung circles. The first three of these originally formed the single circle of Mokkyun; Tawku was part of Tanmanaing; Myogon and Kamaba were formerly Hlawadi which was separated off from Kawmhu; and Indapura was one of the original circles. The whole township was formerly included in Angyi. The ridge runs down the western half of the township leaving on that side some plains not very extensive and subject to inundation. On the east there are rice plains and salt marshes, now to some extent reclaimed, and across the Thakutpin creek is the island of Mokkyun. It is thinly populated, but there is a large and rapidly increasing alien population Mahomedans are especially numerous.

There is very little fishing, but this is the only township in which salt is carried on, the occupation being confined to the salt marshes near Tanmanaing to the east of the ridge. Pottery is carried on near Kungyangon, but the articles are inferior and although cheap are not in great request. There are numerous pagodas in this township, the "thirty-seven pagodas of Angyi" being proverbial. The most important remaining are those at Letkaik, Sapagan, Dedanaw, Plapadi and Kanyingon. These are connected in legend with the arrival of Tapussa and Pilakat with the relics afterwards enshrined in the Shwe Dagon pagoda. In

fact they probably relate to one of the missions to Ceylon. There are still the remains of an inscription at Letkaik, which Forchhammer assigned to the twelfth century. It has however been broken and half of it lost since he examined it.

The Chief villages are Kawhmu, Kungyangon, Tanmanaing, Kyaiktaw, Letkokkon, Thamiatet, Natsingon and Wabalaukthauk and details concerning them are given in Volume B.

Kawhmu.—A village in Kungyangon township. Population: 1877; 476: 1911; 1,081: 1911; 1,179.

Kungyangon.—The headquarters of the Kungyangon township. The village was formerly the centre of a pottery industry in connection with the salt manufacture. This has declined, and the pots although still manufactured have no great reputation, those from the delta being preferred although of higher price. The clay was found to the north of the village. Population in 1858; about 1,000: 1868; 1,076: 1877; 1,233. Up to this date the inhabitants were mostly Talaings. In 1901 the population numbered 2,789 and in 1911, 2,870.

Kyaiktaw.—A village in Indapura circle, Kungyangon township, halfway between Twante and Kungyangon on the To river. Population: 1876; 1,047: 1901; 1,578: 1911; 2,209. A trading centre. There is a Roman Catholic Mission with a resident priest in the vicinity.

Letkokkon.—A pleasantly situated village beside the sea in Kanyingon circle. There is a forest bungalow here to facilitate the inspection of the forest reserves at Yetho and on the Kungyangon side of the Thakutpin stream. Population: 1858; 250: 1877; 638: 1901; 1,184: 1911; 1,307.

Natsingon.—A village in the Kungyangon township, on the road from Kungyangon to Twante, near the Apyouk fishery. The population of the village-tract was 2,013 at the 1911 census, mainly Burmans and Karens, and the number of houses 397. The village was founded by Karens from Zalokgyi about 80 years ago. The main occupation of the inhabitants is cultivation; there are also a few resident traders and money-lenders. There is a pagoda known as the "Kywe Mingon Paya." The legend attached to it runs that a female buffalo gave birth to a young one, which was an embryo of the Lord Buddha, and hid it in a jungle knoll from the father, which was wont to kill its offspring. The young buffalo often came out secretly to measure its father's footprints, and when it thought itself big enough, it showed itself to its father. The father attacked it, and was killed by it.

Tanmanaing village.—A village in the circle of the same name in Kungyangon township, and formerly the centre of a flourishing salt industry. The wealth of the inhabitants is noted on by Captain Lloyd in 1867. The salt industry is still carried on, but owing to the increasing stringency of the regulations operations have to be conducted on a larger scale and are at the same time less important than formerly. With the falling off in the salt industry the village declined but has since recovered. The factories are situated to the south in Sabe *kwin*. It is now a trading centre. There is a pagoda of some local importance, with a festival in April. Population: 1859; 1,250: 1877; 1,162: 1901; 1,475: 1911; 1,888.

Thameatet.—A village in the Kungyangon township, formerly known as Angyi, and established about 200 years ago. The population of the village-tract was 1,630 at the last census—mostly Talaings, Karens and Burmans—and the number of houses 327. The name is derived from a legend that seven men from this village went to cut wood on Meimmahlagyun island. Six men landed and one who stayed by the boat played on a harp, upon which seven natthamis came down, and danced to the music. When the others returned, they tried to weigh the anchor in vain, so cast lots, and three times the harper was chosen. They therefore left him behind. The harper's mother went and brought her son back with the seven fairies, but, when they came to Angyi, the son and the fairies "wished" and vanished, and the mother was "bereft of her son."

Wabalaukthauk.—A village of 662 inhabitants in Tanmanaing circle, Kungyangon township, chiefly interesting on account of its name, a corruption of "Weparathut" which apparently means betel landing-stage. It used to be a landing-stage for boats engaged in the salt and betel trades and the remains of four large villages can still be traced although the places themselves had reverted to jungle before the British occupation. The tides from the To and Rangoon rivers meet at the village so that it is an important halting-stage.

Kyauktan.—A subdivision of Syriam district roughly corresponding with the former Syriam township. It contains three townships, Kyauktan, Thôngwa and Kayan.

Kyauktan.—A township of Kyauktan subdivision containing the circles of Thanhlyin, Kyauktan, Tada, Bonlon, Kamakalok and Hmawwun. Thanhlyin together with Kyauktaingbyin constituted the original circle of Thanhlyin; Kyauktan was part of the Yun circle; Tada and Bonlon

were together part of Agun circle, and Kamakalok was originally part of Hmawwun circle. The Syriam ridge runs down the west of this township, leaving a narrow strip of not very fertile land on the river side; the east and south of the township consist of rice plains. The land to the west of the ridge is now largely used for industrial purposes. The most noticeable feature of the population is the large increase in aliens during recent years. The striking feature of the population is the large proportion of Siamese Shans (Yun Shans) who derive their name from a colony brought from Zimme under their own chieftain, the Yun Bo, by Alaung Paya. The rapid increase of recent years in the alien population is also worthy of remark. Although there is a certain proportion of gardeners on the ridge by far the most important occupations are those connected with the rice industry. The feature of greatest archæological interest is the laterite pagoda at Kyaikkauk; there are laterite remains at Pada, the seat of the earliest known dynasty, possibly connected with the Orissa colonists; and there are many laterite ruins scattered over the township. There is a large pagoda at Kyauktan, similar to and probably coeval with those of Kungyangon. There is an old fort at Syriam where the palace-hill and various gates can still be identified, and there are also Portuguese remains. There is a Roman Catholic church dating from 1750, which is under the care of the archæological department.

The most important villages are Bogyok, Kadapanat, Kyauktan, Konthilawa, Mingalun, Kamakalok, Syriam and Tada north, details concerning which are given in Volume B.

Bogyok village.—Two villages, south and north, in the environs of Syriam. In 1877 there were 1,458 and in 1901 1,725 inhabitants. The village is founded on the site of the camp from which Alaung Paya delivered his final assault on Syriam.

Kamakalok.—An agricultural village in the Kyauktan township, near the coast on the Kamakalok creek, said to have been founded by Talaings about 700 years ago. "Kama" means mango tree and "kalok" tank (Talaing), *cf.* Kamamat, Kamapadaw, Kamasein, Kamakalu villages in Kayan township. At the 1911 census the village-tract comprised 427 houses with a population of 2,280, mostly Burmans and Talaings.

Konthilawa.—Konthilawa or Thilawa, a village in the Kyauktan township, established about 200 years ago on the Thilawa branch road. At the 1911 census the number of houses in the village-tract was 288, and the population

1,863, comprising Burmans, Talaings, Karens, Shans and natives of India. The name is said to have originally been Kon-thé-thé-kwa, and legendary derivation is that a former village headman Sa Bo was crucified by a Burmese king, but rescued and taken down by his son. A band of soldiers pursued them in vain, though they came to within "a little distance" of them—"thé-thé-kwa."

Kyauktan village.—The headquarters of the Kyauktan subdivision and township. There is an ancient pagoda apparently coeval with the "Thirty-seven pagodas of Angyi" but alleged to be coeval with that at Kyaikkauk. Below the town is a dangerous reef of rocks from which it derives its name. This is the continuation of the ridge across the Hmawwun creek. Population: 1877; 407: 1901; 2,653: 1911; 3,738.

Mingalun.—An agricultural village of the Kyauktan township, founded by Talaings in 1849, and then known as Mun-galun. On their expulsion it was repopulated by Shans. The number of houses in the village-tract at the 1911 census was 281, and the total population 1,565, mostly Burmans, Shans and Talaings, with about 200 natives of India. The title of the local pagoda is Maha Ahtula Ok Shaung Ko-dat-gyi.

Tada north and south.—Two villages in the east of the Kyauktan township on opposite sides of the Tada creek. They are connected with Kadapana village by a short road. At the 1911 census the number of houses was 587, and the population 3,232, mostly Talaing and Burman agriculturalists, with some 200 natives of India. They were founded in 1848.

Thongwa.—A township of Kyauktan subdivision consisting of Kadonbaw, Yun, Takaw, Agun and Alangon circles. The Yun circle together with Kyauktan composed the original Yun circle. The other circles together with Bonlon and Tada made up the original Agun circle. The total area of this township is rather less than that of the original Agun circle. It consists of a single rice plain, the eastern portion having been brought under cultivation in recent years.

Its chief villages are Alangon, Kadonbaw, Okkan, Okkanwa, Pyinmagan and Thongwa, details concerning which are given in Volume B.

Kadonbaw.—Kadonbaw is an agricultural village in the Thongwa township on the Kadonbaw *chaung*, near the Gulf of Martaban and the Kadonbaw forest reserve. The population of the village-tract numbered some 2,520 souls at

the census of 1911, and the number of houses was 460. The village is a recent one founded about 45 years ago. It contains a forest revenue station and a district bungalow. The name is derived from two Talaing words: Katon, a cape, and paw, the "thinbaung" plant, a spiky rush that grows on the sea-coast, the two words meaning a cape covered with rushes.

Okkan.—A large village in the Thôngwa township on the northern branch of the Hmawwun creek, founded about 100 years ago, and named from an old Talaing brick tank, the remains of which are still visible about 60 yards to the west of the present village-site. The population of the village-tract at the last census was 3,563, mostly Burmans, with about 400 natives of India, and the number of houses 670. It contains a post and telegraph office. The main occupation of the inhabitants is cultivation. There is a brass image in the pagoda, made by the villagers, in honour of which a yearly festival has been held since the year 1890.

Okkanwa.—A village in the Thôngwa township, situated at the mouth of the Okkan branch of the Hmawwun creek. The name seems to be an abbreviation of Okkan Chaungwa. It was founded about 90 years ago. The total population of the village-tract was returned at the 1911 census at 2,119, mostly Burmans, with about 500 natives of India, and the number of houses was 433. The chief industry is cultivation. There is an octagonal pagoda, called the Shitmyethna Paya, built about 50 years ago, in honour of which an annual festival is held.

Pyinmagan.—A village of the Yun circle, Thôngwa township, largely inhabited by Yun Shans (Siamese). Population: 1878; 1,279: 1901; 1,700: 1911; 1,840.

Thongwa.—A village in the Yun circle in Thôngwa township of which it is the headquarters. There is a cluster of villages round here which have grown rapidly as centres of rice trading. Population: 1878; 729: 1901; 3,132

Kayan.—A township of the Kyauktan subdivision. The chief villages are Baw Thabyegan, Kayan, Nyaungbinkwin, Pagandaung, Pagu and Thabyegan and it also contains the town of Syriam. Details concerning all these are given in Volume B.

Baw Thabyegan.—A village in Pagandaung circle on the Baw stream with 767 inhabitants in 1877, 1,503 in 1901 and 1,547 in 1911.

Kayan.—The headquarters of the township of the same name. At the 1911 census it comprised 964 houses and 3,850 people, mostly Burmans with about 600 natives of

India. It contains a court-house, police-station, post and telegraph office, bazaar, and a Public Works Department bungalow. It lies on an off-shoot of the Kadonbaw Thongwa road. The town was founded about 60 years ago. The main occupations of the inhabitants are agriculture and petty trading.

Nyaungbinkwin.—A village in the Kayan township, founded in 1885. At the 1911 census the village-tract consisted of 202 houses and a total population of 2,530, mainly Burman agriculturalists.

Nyaungni.—A village in the Kyauktaingbyin circle with 585 inhabitants in 1878 and 1,534 in 1901.

Pagandaung.—A village in the Pagandaung circle, Kayan township, beside the Pegu river. Population (including Hleseik) in 1878; 751: 1777; 977: 1901: 1,685: 1911; 1,286 (excluding Hleseik).

Pegu.—A village in the Pagu circle, Kayan township beside the Pagu river. Population: 1876; 19,56: 1901; 2,822: 1911; 2,936.

Syriam.—A town in Kayan township said to have been founded by Nga Than Hlyin about 550 B.C. The name by which it is now known to Burmans is said to be derived from his name. In Talaing, however, it was known as "Trawn", whence the English is derived through the Portuguese. Nga Than Hlyin established his capital there after overcoming Sreindaraza, king of Pada, and marrying his daughter. There was a succession of thirteen kings ending with Bawgathena. The old town with its walls and gates is still distinctly traceable and the palace-hill is shown to tourists. A full account of the city is given in the Syriam history of which there is a copy in the Bernard Library. It again came into prominence when the Mahomedan adventurers and pirates infested the coast of Burma in the 15th century and became the second city of the Peguan empire with the rise of the Portuguese traders. Nga Zinga, Phillip de Brito, established himself there at the end of the 15th century and carved out an empire in Pegu. He was defeated and Syriam passed to Hanthawaddy. It does not seem to have been definitely considered part of the kingdom before this event and it never became united as one of the "Thirty-two provinces of Hanthawaddy." When the capital was moved from Pegu to Ava Syriam increased in consequence. Dutch and English established factories about 1639, but were expelled in 1679. They succeeded in again establishing themselves and so did the Portuguese. In 1721 the Barnabite fathers opened the first Roman

Catholic mission to Burma at Syriam and in 1750 built a church the ruins of which are still standing. They were expelled in 1760. To the north of the Burman city is pointed out the Portuguese town beside the river, but owing to silting and encroachment it is difficult to reconstruct anything resembling what can have been a town. After the Burman conquest Talaing governors were appointed but there were frequent rebellions. On the arrivâl of the British, Maung Sat, the governor, made a show of resistence. He soon made peace, however, and declared against the Burmans, but as the British could offer no assistance he was beaten and fled to Moulmein. Another attempt was made during the second war but without success. During the war between Burma and Pegu the town was besieged for thirteen months and all efforts to reduce it had proved in vain, when the golden company of thirteen men forced their way into the city as a forlorn hope and taking the inhabitants unawares created such a panic that the Burman army was enabled to effect an entrance..

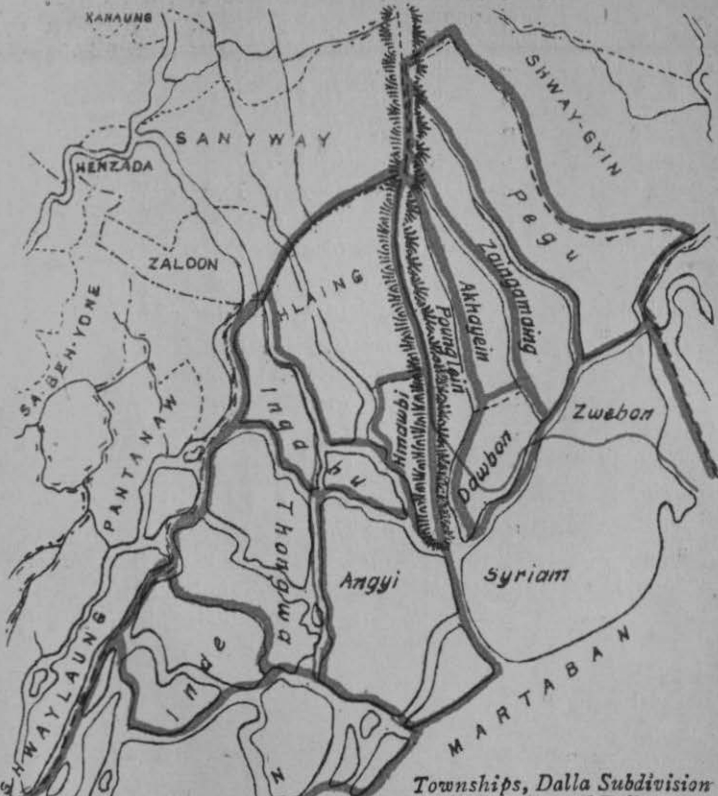
The whole country round is full of legends. Syriam is now a large industrial town containing large oil works. Its population in 1911 was 10,897. The headquarters of the district will probably be transferred to it from Rangoon.

Thabyegan village.—A village in Pagadaung circle, Kayan township which was the township headquartes until 1908. Population: 1877; 7740: 1901; 1,320: 1911, 1,780.

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX I.

Map of Rangoon District.



Townships, Dalla Subdivision (Province of Dalla).

1. Angyi.*	3. Inde.
2. Thôngwa.*	4. Pyapôn.

Syriam Subdivision.

1. Syriam.	6. Zainganaing.
2. Zwebon.	7. Pegu.†
3. Dawbon.	8. Hlaing.
4. Paunglin	9. Ingabu.
5. Akharein.	10. Hmawbi.

------ Approximate limits of District, 1868.

——— Hanthawaddy District as it existed just before the partition of 1912.

* Twante in Angyi and Yandoon in Thôngwa with their adjacent circles had formerly been united as the Yandoon, Dalla or Twante Township.

† Bawni had been another Township; north of Pegu.

APPENDIX II.

THE THIRTY-TWO PROVINCES OF HANTHAWADDY.

Hanthawaddy*	founded in	514 D.E.	(592 A.D.)	under Thamala.
Kyaukhmaw	"	517 "	(595 ")	
Ban	"	518 "	(596 ")	
Donzayit	"	519 "	(597 ")	
Kyigu	"	520 "	(598 ")	
Sittang*	"	529 "	(607 ")	under Wimala.
Dinme	"	530 "	(608 ")	
Zwegabon*	"	531 "	(609 ")	
Attha	"	532 "	(610 ")	
Hmawbyo	"	536 "	(614 ")	under Mahaindatha.
Lagunbyin*	"	549 "	(627 ")	
Kayein*	"	550 "	(628 ")	under Mahaintha.
Ma-u*	"	552 "	(630 ")	
Ramanagi	"	676 "	(754 ")	under Ponnarika.
Ramawaddy	"	679 "	(757 ")	
Hmawbi*	"	670 "	(748 ")	
Hlaing*	"	673 "	(751 ")	
Paunglin* ...	...	...	...	under Teiktha Raza.
Tandawgyi*	...	...	...	under Binya U.
Tidut ...	...	...	...	under Mahura.
Zeta.				
Zaingtu.*				
Pa-aing (Ingabu).*				
Tonkan.				
Yenwe (Bawni).*				
Meranyinsaya.				
Tinbaung.				
Minyehla.				
Kawliah* ...	...	...	...	under Razadirit.
Paingda.				
Winbyaing		814 B. E.	(1452 A. D.)	under Shin Saw Bu.
Yunzalin*		840 "	(1478 ")	under Dhammazedi.
Zaingganaing*		885 "	(1523 ")	under Takarut Bi.

The last three were subsequently added.

NOTE 1.—The names of the provinces and other details in the above list are taken from the index to the Hanthawaddy Sittan (Revenue Inquest). The era abbreviated as D.E. is the Dodosara Era introduced into Burma by Samundari of Prome in the year of religion 624 A.B. It corresponds to the Saka era of India. The dates as given are rather inaccurate as the date given for the foundation of

Hanthawaddy is also known as 1116 A.B. which corresponds with 494 D.E. and 573 A.D. (Buddhism, Volume I, page 260).

NOTE 2.—The towns marked thus * still survived as headquarters of townships or circles at the annexation. Some of these are mentioned in Chapter XIV. Further details concerning those outside Hanthawaddy are given in the Gazetteer of 1880 and the Hanthawaddy Sittan. Ruins of some of these towns still exist.

APPENDIX III.

TOWNSHIPS OF RANGOON DISTRICT AS ORIGINALLY CONSTITUTED AND SUBSEQUENT DISTRIBUTION.

Bawni † ...	... whole	allotted to	Toungoo ...	1864
Pyapôn ‡, Thôngwa ‡, Inde ‡	... ,,	,,	Thôngwa ..	1875
Yandoon ‡ ...	... part	,,	Thôngwa, Twantè Subdivision.	1875
Ingabu † ...	... ,,	,,	Thôngwa, Insein Subdivision.	1875
Hlaing †, Hmawbi † ...	... ,,	,,	Insein Subdivision	1875
Dawbon † ...	... ,,	,,	Insein Subdivision, Pegu District.	1883
Pegu †, Akharein †, Zainganaing †, Paunglin †	... whole	,,	Pegu District ...	1883
Zwebon † ...	... part	,,	Pegu District, Kyauktan Subdivision.	1883
Syriam ...	...	,,	Kyauktan Subdivision.	
Angyi ‡ ...	...	,,	Twante Subdivision.	

NOTE.—Townships marked thus ‡ formed part of the Province of Dala prior to the annexation: those marked thus † part of Hanthawaddy: Syriam was a semi-independent unit.

APPENDIX IV.

LIST OF BOOKS AND PAPERS CONSULTED.

(*Footnotes refer to the editions shown below.*)

A.—NON-OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS.

Alexander ... The Burman Empire (Parbury and Allen, London 1827). Of little interest; notes of a soldier.

Baker ... Rangoon (Hatchard, London, 1852). Of little interest; notes of a chaplain.

Bigandet ... History of Roman Catholic Mission (Rangoon, 1865). Contains information not found elsewhere especially concerning period 1720-50 A.D.

Cox ... Journal (London, 1821). Valuable observations with much detail not found elsewhere concerning Burma at end of 18th century.

de Beylie ... L'architecture hindoue en extrème Orient (Leroux, Paris, 1908) Comparative analysis of Burman architecture with historical note by Professor Duroiselle.

Ferguson ... Indian Architecture. Contains many suggestion concerning Burman archæology, which have no yet been worked out.

Forbes ... The Languages of Further India (W. H. Allen London, 1881). A collection of papers by the best oriental scholar of the Burma Commission.

Frazer (Dr. J. G.) The Golden Bough, and sequels. Throws light on Burman customs.

Fytche ... Burma Past and Present.

Hakluyt ... The Voyages (Dent, London, 1908). Volumes 3 and 4, in this cheap edition, Everyman's Library contains accounts of voyages made to Burma by Fytche and others.

Haswell ... Peguan Grammar and Vocabulary (Rangoon).

Laurie ... The Second Burmese War, Rangoon (Smith Elder, London, 1853). The Second Burmese War, Pegu (Smith, Elder, London, 1854). Our Burmese Wars (W. H. Allan, London, 1880). These three books contain much interesting information with contemporaneous pamph let and official publications.

Parker ... Burma: Relations with China (Rangoon, 1893). An interesting, but rather prejudiced study of a neglected subject.

Vambery ... The Adventures of Ferdinand Mendes Pinto (Fisher, Unwin, London, 1897). A cheap edition of a book containing much information about Burma and the Portuguese in the 16th century and Pegu and Tenasserim.

Phayre ... History of Burma (Trench, London, 1884).

Riley ... Ralph Fytche (Fisher, Unwin, London, 1899) Contains little that is not given in the Everyman edition of Hakluyt, the exception consisting of notes.

San Germano .. The Burmese Empire (John Murray, London 1833).

Schmidt ... Buch der Ragavan (Holden, Vienna, 1906). The only Talaing chronicle translated into an European language, and also the only chronicle now known to exist in Talaing.

Snodgrass ... The Burmese War (John Murray, London, 1824). A valuable account of the operations and of Burma at the time, rather philo-Burman.

Symes ... Embassy to Ava (London, Debrett, 1800).

B.—Official Publications.

Annual Administration Reports from 1869-70.

Annual Revenue Reports from 1865-66. The earlier ones are in manuscript.

British Burma Gazetteer, 1879, by Colonel Spearman.

Census Reports, 1872, 1881, 1891, 1901, 1911.

Day. Report on the Fisheries of British Burma, 1869 (published 1897).

Duroiselle. Notes on Ancient Geography, 1906.

Forchhammer. Notes on Shwe Dagon Pagoda, 1883.

" Notes on early Geography, 1884.

" Jardine prize Essay, 1885.

Geology of Pegu, Theobald, 1892.

Lloyd, Gazetteer of Rangoon District, 1868.

Memorandum on the sparseness of population Sir A. Phayre, 1865.

Objects of Antiquarian Interest, 1892. A list of some pagodas, inadequate and incomplete.

Pegu Manual, Captain Horace Browne, 1861.

Pegu Manual, a revised edition, 1865.

Pegu Manual, Fryer's Handbook, 1868.

Report on the Local Salt Industry, 1908.

Report on Settlement Operations (2 vols., 1866-67, 1867-68).

Report on Settlement Operations (5 vols., 1879—84).

Report on Settlement Operations (3 vols., 1897—00).

Report on Settlement Operations (1907—10).

Report on the Settlement Department in British Burma, 1871-72.

Taw Sein Ko. The Kalyani Inscriptions, 1893.

Notes on a tour in Ramannadesa, 1893.

Sir Richard Temple, Antiquities of Ramannadesa, 1892.

Wilson, Settlement Manual, Volume I, a compilation of papers and extracts unindexed.

C.—Manuscript Papers. Official.

District Letter Book, 1856, 1862, 1866, 1867, 1868.

District Revenue Report, with remarks of Chief Commissioner, 1861 to 1866.

Akbari Report, Chief Commissioner's remarks, 1864-65.

Secretariat Files 159 and 235, 1861, 142 and 152, 1862. These contain the only information still extant concerning the first settlement (Captain Browne's).

Order Book, 1882.

District Revenue Reports, 1902-03, and 1904-05 to 1908-09. The reports between 1865 and 1902, as well as that for 1903-04 have apparently been destroyed.

D.—Books and Manuscripts in Burmese.

(1) *Printed Historical Works.*

Alaung Paya Ayadawbon, Hanthwaddy Press, Rangoon, 1900. A detailed account of war between Burma and Pegu.

Mun Yazawun, U Shwe Naw, Hanthawaddy Press, 1899. A collection of Mun legends by the retired Extra Assistant Commissioner whom Phayre had engaged to translate the Mun chronicles obtained from Bangkôk.

Razadirit, Saya Hwaik (White ?), British Burma News Press, 1877. A chronicle of the reign of Razadirit, with a summary of previous history.

Shwe Dagon Thamaing, Yatana Thiri Press, 1900. Early legends relating to the Orissa colonists.

Shwemawdaw Thamaing, Saya Ku, Hanthawaddy Press, 1897. A brief history of Pegu compiled from many sources.

(2) *Manuscript Historical Works.*

The chronicles of Sinbyumyashin (Sinbyumya Shin Ayedawbon). A parabaik in Bernard Free Library, containing the chronicles of the reign of Buyin Naung.

The Revenue Inquests of 1784 and 1803 (Hanthawaddy-Sittan, cited as Sittan.) The "Doomsday Book" of Hanthawaddy, three parabaik in the Bernard Library, presented by the Kinwun Mingyi.

The History of Syriam (Than Hlyin Yazawun.) A palm leaf manuscript in the Bernard Library—A copy is in the Syriam Monastery. A summary of Peguan History with special reference to Syriam. Certain passages show that it is partly based on or extracted from older manuscripts.

The Shwe San Daw (Twante) Thamaing. A palm leaf manuscript in the Bernard Library; of little value.

(3) *Historical Plays.*

Kywema Nangayaing, 1907, acted by Aung Bala. Contains the Attha Legend.

Minander hnin Shin Mwe Lun, Saya Mya, Dhammapitha Press, 1909, Contains the Minander Legend of the Orissa Series.

Than Hlyin Mintayagyi, Taunglaung Pyazat, Parts I to IV.*

Khabin Min Maung Di Pyazat Saya Mya.*

Buyin Min Gaung hnin Razadirit, Mingala Thiri Press, Rangoon, 1903.*

* Signifies works not consulted, but included on list because of their interest.

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